

SCOTLAND



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BANNOCKBURN CASTLE

From an Engraving by J. G. Murdoch

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

It was long believed that the visitor was St. Andrew, the tutelary patron of Scotland. The whole is supposed to have been an experiment devised by Queen Margaret, to excite her consort's superstitious feelings and deter him from the invasion of England. It is not improbable that Sir David Lindsay was in the secret. The tradition at Linlithgow is, that the man eluded the grasp of those who would have seized him by gliding behind a curtain, which concealed a private stair leading to the upper part of the church, and that he crossed the court and entered the Palace by a small door under the window of the aisle. He is also said to have been a domestic of the Queen, and it is evident that he must have received some instructions from her, as his warning prominently introduces the King's incontinency, which could not fail to excite jealousy.¹ Before James IV. left Linlithgow, he presented the Queen with an order on his treasury for 18,000 crowns, to secure her from pecuniary embarrassment while engaged in the war with her brother Henry VIII.

The Town House, an edifice a short distance south of the Palace and St. Michael's Church, was erected in 1668 by Sir Robert Mylne of Barnton, then chief manager of the burgh, and evidently the cavalier Dean of Guild, who had assisted at the burning of the Solemn League and Covenant in 1662. This building was completely gutted by fire in 1847. In front of the Town House is the Cross Well, a curious hexagonal structure, rebuilt in 1805 on the site of the former erection of 1620, of which it is an exact resemblance. It displays a number of grotesque figures, from the mouths of which the water issues in thirteen jets, and some statues ornament a small gallery, the whole surmounted by a lion rampant, supporting the royal arms of Scotland. A statue of St. Michael on the former Well, or on another, carefully intimated that he was "kind to strangers."

BARNBOUGLE CASTLE—DALMENY PARK.

ON the beach of the Frith of Forth, and within the extensive, verdant, and beautifully wooded domain of Dalmeny Park, the seat of the Earls of Rosebery, is the solitary ruin of Barnbougles Castle, already mentioned as the residence of the Mowbrays of Barnbougles, a distinguished family of Norman descent. Sir David Mowbray of Barnbougles was in the Parliament held at Edinburgh on the 14th of March, 1481,² and his son or grandson Robert became one of the securities in 1546 for the surrender, within the Castle of Edinburgh, of John Sandilands, younger of Calder, under the penalty of 10,000*l.* Scots.³ In the following year he conferred a similar obligation on a Stephen Bell, who was prosecuted for demolishing an image of St. Mary Magdalene.⁴ The Mowbrays about that time intimately connected themselves with their relatives, the Napiers of Merchiston, and in 1572, when the illustrious inventor of Logarithms, son of Sir Archibald Napier of Edinbellie and Merchiston, married Elizabeth, daughter of Sir James Stirling of Keir, the said Sir Archibald selected for his second spouse his cousin, also named Elizabeth, daughter of John Mowbray of Barnbougles.

The wife of the Laird of Barnbougles was the sister of Kirkaldy of Grange, and two of the daughters, named Barbara and Giles, were younger than the stepmother of the philosopher.⁵ Barbara Mowbray was only eight years old when Queen Mary fled into England, and both sisters joined her, and were her affectionate attendants till the Babington conspiracy was made a pretext for her condemnation. On the morning of Mary's execution, Barbara Mowbray and a young French lady, named Beauregard, complained to her physician Bourgoyn that they were omitted in her Will, which she had herself hastily written, and with tears entreated that this should be mentioned to their royal mistress. No sooner was the Queen informed of the circumstance than she rose from a kneeling posture, and inscribed a remembrance of her two devoted friends on a blank leaf of her book of devotions. After the execution of the Queen her domestics were cruelly treated, their requests to be allowed to return to their paternal homes were refused, and Barbara and Giles Mowbray, the daughters of one of the oldest houses in Scotland, were consigned to prison for no

¹ Picture of Scotland, by Robert Chambers, 12mo. 1830, vol. ii. pp. 33, 34; New Statistical Account of Scotland—Linlithgowshire, p. 172. Pinkerton, in his History of Scotland, severely censures Lindsay of Pitcottie for his "credulity" in this affair of the mysterious warning against the invasion of England.

² Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 137.

³ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials of Scotland, vol. i. Part I. p. 333.

⁴ Ibid. p. 335.

⁵ Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, by Mark Napier, Esq., Advocate, 4to. p. 140.

other reason than that they had been the affectionate companions of their captive sovereign. Their father now interfered, and complained to James VI. He obtained a royal commission to proceed to London, and demand from Elizabeth the release of his daughters, and of Mary's household. He was successful in his application, and the names of Barbara and Giles Mowbray are in the list of those ladies who attended the obsequies of their mistress in Peterborough Cathedral. After this melancholy duty Barbara Mowbray married William Curle, who had been Mary's favourite secretary throughout the period of her captivity. They retired to the Continent, and never returned. Their tombs are in the church of St. Andrew at Antwerp, close to a pillar on which was long affixed a portrait of Mary presented by them, with an inscription recording her misfortunes. It is also said that the head of the Queen, which they had contrived to abstract, is deposited at the base of the pillar. Nothing is known of Giles Mowbray, who is supposed to have accompanied her father to Scotland.¹

Francis Mowbray, designated "son to the Laird of Barnbogle," was the brother of those ladies, and was one of the then turbulent and reckless persons who were justly considered dangerous to the community. He was the intimate friend of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch and Branksholm, Warden of the West Marches, the step-son of Francis Stuart Earl of Bothwell, nephew of the notorious Earl. Sir Walter Scott was the hero of the rescue of a marauder known as "Kinmont Willie" from the custody of Lord Scrope in the Castle of Carlisle, on the 13th of April, 1596, and it may be assumed that Francis Mowbray had some connexion with that daring achievement. On the following day Mowbray killed a person named William Shaw, by thrusting a rapier through his body, for which he was outlawed.² Mowbray was afterwards connected with those noblemen known as the "Popish Lords," and proceeded to the Low Countries, attaching himself to the Court at Brussels, and identifying himself with all the Roman Catholic plots against James VI. He was in England in 1602, when an Italian named Daniel accused him before Queen Elizabeth of conspiring to assassinate the Scottish monarch. They were both sent to Scotland, and committed to Edinburgh Castle, the Italian occupying an apartment immediately above Mowbray. No credible charge was produced against the latter, who denied the accusation in language which James VI. ordered to be recorded and subscribed by him. Mowbray now demanded the combat with Daniel, which he had done in England, which was a condescension on his part, as the Italian was merely a fencing-master. The 5th of January, 1603, was appointed for the duel, which was to be in the court-yard of Holyrood, but the deadly encounter was delayed by the King, who had resolved to confront Mowbray with "other two Scottish men sent out of England, of light account." On the 30th of January, the day after he had been examined before the witnesses, Mowbray was found lifeless and frightfully mangled at the base of the precipices of Edinburgh Castle. It is alleged that he endeavoured to escape by means of his bed-clothes tied together, and that as these were not of sufficient length to admit a descent, he was killed by the fall, though his friends maintained that he had been strangled, and the body thrown out of the window, which received little credit.³ So exasperated was the King against Mowbray, that he and the Privy Council wrote to the Lord Justice-Clerk, Cockburn of Ormiston, and the attempt to escape is specially noticed as an undoubted evidence of guilt, ordering him to try Mowbray for the crime of high treason as if he was alive. The body was dragged backwards through the streets, and produced at the bar of the Justiciary Court. The sentence was that the corpse was to be suspended from a gibbet at the Cross of Edinburgh, and afterwards quartered, his head, a leg, and an arm to be spiked on the Nether-Bow gate, the other leg on the West Port, and the other arm on the Potterrow gate.⁴

Barnbogle in a few years ceased to be the property of the Mowbrays, who, it is said, were latterly of the female line. Sir John Mowbray, the last male descendant of this ancient family, conveyed the estate of Cockairnie near Aberdour in Fife to his uncle William Mowbray, and Barbara, his only child and heiress, married Robert Barton, who assumed the name of Mowbray.⁵ In 1615 the Barony of Barnbogle was sold to Sir Thomas Hamilton, the wealthy first Earl of Haddington, who also, among his other extensive

¹ Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, by Mark Napier, Esq. pp. 142-145, 510, 511.

² Birrel's Diary, p. 37.

³ Archbishop Spottiswoode's History of the Church and State of Scotland, folio, p. 471.

⁴ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials of Scotland, vol. ii. pp. 405-400; Birrel's Diary, p. 57.

⁵ Sir John Sinclair's Statistical Account of Scotland, vol. pp. xxi. 55, 56.—The charters and writs of the Mowbrays of Barnbogle, extending from 1346 to 1615, are in possession of the Earl of Rosebery, and the family is believed to be represented by Mowbray of Cockairnie.

purchases, acquired the adjoining Barony of Dalmeny. This Robert Mowbray married Lady Anne Erskine, daughter of Thomas first Earl of Kellie. The only memorial of this honourable family is their roofless Castle, which has been long a sea-mark, and even the title of their Barony is supplanted by the modern appellation of Dalmeny Park, so called after the designation of the parish. In 1662 John, fourth Earl of Haddington, sold Barnbogle and Dalmeny for 160,000 merks to Sir Archibald Primrose of Carrington, an eminent lawyer and judge, whose son was created Earl of Rosebery in 1703.

Dalmeny Park, the seat of the Earl of Rosebery, is an elegant specimen of the Tudor style, surrounded by magnificent old trees, which abound in the numerous avenues, especially in that entered near Cramond Bridge on the Queensferry road, and is a very romantic approach to the mansion. This was the access traversed by Queen Victoria and Prince Albert at the royal visit to the Earl of Rosebery on the 3d of September, 1842. Behind the mansion are beautifully wooded undulating hills, and the lawn below is terminated by the ruins of Barnbogle Castle close to the margin of the sea. The grounds of Dalmeny Park extend from the mouth of the Almond at Cramond, about six miles west along the shore of the Frith of Forth to South Queensferry.

The parish church of Dalmeny, supposed to have been erected in the tenth or eleventh century, is one of the finest specimens of Saxon architecture in Scotland. It for centuries possessed altars dedicated to St. Adamnan and other holy persons. The edifice is of small dimensions, of cut stone, eighty-four feet long and twenty-eight feet broad, contracting at the east end into a semicircle. The pediments of the doors and windows are richly carved, and round the upper part of the structure is an embossment of sculptured faces, each dissimilar, and of grotesque appearance. The principal door on the west is deservedly admired for its exquisite workmanship. The interior is divided into three parts by two semicircular arches, both ornamented by successive zig-zag or starry-shaped mouldings, and as the arch over the chancel is much smaller than the other, the effect is peculiarly elegant. At the door of the church is a large stone coffin cut from a single block, and covered on the lid and sides with sculptured signs which cannot now be deciphered.¹

In the neighbourhood is Dundas Castle, the seat of the ancient family of Dundas of that Ilk, from whom descend several collateral branches. This is the oldest Barony in the district, and can be traced to the reign of William the Lion, which commenced in 1115. Dundas Castle is supposed to have been erected in the eleventh century, and is situated on the slope of a crag or hill in connexion with a modern mansion. Some additions were made about 1416, when it was constituted a fortress by the Regent Duke of Albany, and sanctioned as a place of strength in 1424 by James I. The walls of the original edifice are of great thickness and solidity, the apartments arched, and the views from the roof grand and extensive. Opposite the north front is an ornamental fountain, displaying sculptured figures in stone, the sides containing inflated and barbarous Latin inscriptions, assigning the reasons for its erection in 1623 by Sir Walter Dundas, in the sixty-first year of his age.²

The little royal burgh of Queensferry, so constituted by Charles I. in defiance of the opposition of the burgesses of Linlithgow, is close to the Queen's Ferry, which is said to derive its name from the canonized Queen Margaret, who crossed here in her journeys to and from Dunfermline. Newhalls Inn, or the "Haws," as it is locally designated, is prominently introduced by Sir Walter Scott in the commencement of "The Antiquary," as the inn in which Mr. Oldbuck and Lovell dined after their ride from Edinburgh in the luckless vehicle called the "Queensferry Fly," on their journey to Fairport.

The small rocky islet of Inchgarvie in the middle of the Frith of Forth, which at the Queensferry is contracted to within two miles, is connected with the Barony of Dundas. It was conceded to Dundas of that Ilk in 1491 by James IV., as a compensation for the property forfeited by him at Bothkennar in Stirlingshire, occasioned by his loyalty to James III., with liberty to erect a fortalice on the islet,³ some remains of which still exist on the west of the fortification. The grant was disputed in 1526 by Patrick Wemyss, described as "captain of the Castle of Inchgarvie," who applied to the Estates of Parliament

¹ New Statistical Account of Scotland—Linlithgowshire, p. 102.

² It is stated on the authority of local tradition, that the cause of the erection of this Fountain by Sir Walter Dundas was his disappointment at the loss of the Barony of Barnbogle, for the purchase of which he had collected a large sum of money, when it was acquired by the first Earl of Haddington, and that he never recovered from the

difficulties in which it involved him. While it was in the progress of erection, he delighted "so much in the noise of hewing the stones, that in a fit of sickness, which confined him to his bed, he ordered the masons to perform that operation in his ante-chamber."—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Linlithgowshire, p. 100.

³ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 270.

respecting its "sure keeping, as the Laird of Dundas claimed it to belong to him.¹ Secretary Paniter, Archdeacon of Moray and Abbot of Cambuskenneth, was imprisoned on the islet by the Regent Albany, and it was garrisoned by French soldiers in 1517. Though Inchgarvie is a small barren rock, the possession of it must have been of some importance to the Lairds of Dundas, who were entitled to levy specified dues from all vessels passing up the Frith of Forth. The islet was surrendered to Cromwell in 1651, and was neglected till 1779, when the appearance of Paul Jones off Leith caused the present square fortification to be repaired, and mounted with four pieces of artillery, which were increased during the alarm of the French invasion.

THE BATTLE-FIELD OF PRESTONPANS.

THE "Battle-field of Prestonpans," in the western and level part of the county adjoining Mid-Lothian, is selected under this general title on account of the interesting localities. From the parish-village of Tranent, ten miles east of Edinburgh, the most delightful landscape is commanded on a summer day, including the expanse of the Frith of Forth, forming the Bays of Musselburgh and Aberlady, curving the shore nearly two miles distant, and bounded by the coasts of Fife and Mid-Lothian. On the immediate shore is the small tidal harbour of Morison's Haven, and the villages of Prestonpans, Cockenzie, and Port-Seton. On the East-Lothian shore are also Gosford House, the magnificent mansion of the Earl of Wemyss, the pretty sea-bathing village of Aberlady, and the coast terminated by the conical hill known as North Berwick Law. On the Mid-Lothian shore are the towns of Musselburgh, Portobello, Leith, and the eastern suburbs of Edinburgh. On the Fife coast are its numerous towns and villages, with the lofty Lomond Hills in the background, and the Islands of Inchkeith and Inchcolm are conspicuous in the Frith of Forth.

Tranent is pleasantly situated on a declivity, and is a large irregularly built village on the road to Haddington and Berwick-upon-Tweed. The streets, if they may be so called in a village where every man seems to have erected his dwelling according to his own fancy, are of ample width, yet the place has a poor appearance, chiefly, if not solely, resulting from the indolent and apparently irreclaimable habits of the people. Its barn-like parish church, of outrageous deformity, erected on the site of the former edifice, in which the brave Colonel Gardiner was interred, is only important because it includes his grave. Notwithstanding the local advantages which the village long possessed as a stage on the east road to and from England, before the construction of the North British Railway, the inhabitants, most of whom are colliers, invariably resisted any improvements. They are also considered a disorderly and ignorant community, whose habits were not likely to be improved by the existence of a large number of drinking establishments. Previous to 1773, when the practice was disallowed, the colliers and salters in the village and parish were little better than slaves, who were literally with their families bound to the coal-pits and salt-pans for life, and sold to the new purchasers of the properties on which such works were in operation.

The monks of Newbattle Abbey commenced the coal mines in this district, and the exports were shipped at their harbour of New-Haven, afterwards Acheson's, and now Morison's Haven. About A.D. 1202 Seyer de Quincy, lord of the manor of Tranent, granted to those monks a coal-pit on their lands of Preston.² In 1547 the mines extended a considerable distance under ground, and many of the inhabitants fled into the coal-pits for safety from the advance of the English army before the battle of Pinkie. The English, after repeatedly attempting to dislodge them, closed the apertures of the pits, at which they placed fires, either to expel them by other entrances, or to suffocate them. The perpetrator of this atrocious cruelty was a man named George Ferrers, described as a "gentleman of my Lord Protector's, and one of the commissioners of carriages in the army." The assailants saw the smoke ascending through an opening in the vicinity, and departed without ascertaining whether the people were suffocated or had escaped.³

The tower or fortalice of Falsyde, upwards of two miles west of Tranent, is of considerable antiquity. It at one time belonged to a younger branch of the Setons, Lords Seton and Earls of Winton, who are said to

¹ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 311.

² Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 400.

³ Expedition into Scotlände of Edward Duke of Somerset, by W. Patten, Londoner, p. 44, in "Fragments of Scottish History," by Sir John Graham Dalyell, Bart. 4to, 1798.

have obtained a grant of the Barony of Tranent from King Robert Bruce for their zealous support of his claims to the throne in the person of Sir Alexander Seton, the successor of Sir Christopher Seton, supposed to have been his brother, and whose descendants assiduously wrought their coal-mines.¹ Additions of a later date were erected at the tower, when it belonged to Falsyde or Fawside of that Ilk, who removed in 1618 to a more commodious mansion in the vicinity. The first story and the roof of the tower are arched, and in the stair is a curious place of concealment. On the morning of the battle of Pinkie a small garrison considerably annoyed the English by firing at them from the windows and apertures of this old fortalice. Between Falsyde Tower and Tranent a fierce conflict occurred between the English and Scottish cavalry on the day before the battle of Pinkie, when the latter were repulsed with the loss of 1300 men—a disaster which seriously influenced the result of the following day. The fortalice is the only memorial of the family of Fawside of that Ilk.

About a mile below Tranent is the mansion of Bankton, close to a station of the North British Railway. At the time of the battle of Prestonpans this residence was the property of Colonel Gardiner, who seems to have inherited it from his mother.² The victorious Highlanders plundered Bankton, destroying the beds, tables, and other furniture, and slashing the walls of the apartments with their broadswords, before they returned in triumph to Edinburgh. They were aware that the brave and good Colonel Gardiner had fallen in the conflict, and was removed from the scene of earthly strife.³

The hamlet of Preston in the vicinity, once a considerable town, is situated in rural seclusion amid gardens and orchards. This place was often visited by the Scottish monarchs, and, if tradition is to be credited, was the occasional scene of revels and carousals most discreditable to the parties who delighted in such amusements. Some curious traditions are also preserved of the proprietors, the monks of Newbattle, and their enterprising mercantile affairs. The hamlet now consists of a few stately old mansions and cot-houses. In a field or garden at the east end is the ancient Cross—an elegant stone pillar about fifteen feet in height, rising from the centre of a small octagonal structure nine feet high from the ground. The fraternity, styled the “Chapmen of the Three Lothians,” or itinerating sellers of wares in the counties of Haddington, Edinburgh, and Linlithgow, acquired Preston Cross as their property in 1636, and though the avocation has long ceased, the association still exists under the same title, assembling annually on the second Thursday of July at this Cross, and electing their office-bearers, the chief of whom is designated “My Lord,”—a title most ludicrous when attached in the newspaper notices of their proceedings to the plebeian surnames of some who are in temporary possession of the visionary honour.⁴ His Royal Highness Prince Albert was elected a member of this association, which now consists of respectable merchants, professional gentlemen, and many persons of high rank, and politely became a “Chapman” of the Three Lothians.

A most prominent object in the landscape is Preston Tower, which is on the north side of the decayed hamlet. This is a massive square edifice six storeys in height, the upper one rising from an open battlement on each side. Preston Tower is said to have been erected, or probably enlarged and repaired, about 1500;

¹ Mr. George Sinclair, the “Professor of Philosophy in Glasgow College,” states in the Preface to his now very rare production entitled “Satan’s Invisible World Discovered,” that the Earl of Winton of his day—probably George third Earl, who died in December 1650—had constructed free levels below ground to drain his coal works, by excavating “impregnable rocks with more difficulty than Hannibal cutted the Alps,” by pits and air-holes, “and floods of water running through the labyrinths for several miles.” It is not easy to perceive the connexion of coal-mines with “Satan’s Invisible World Discovered,” unless the learned “Professor” held that the utter darkness was an analogy which could not be mistaken.

² Bankton was afterwards the property of Andrew Macdowal, Esq., appointed a Judge in the Court of Session in July 1755, and sat as Lord Bankton till his death in 1761.

³ Colonel Gardiner married Lady Frances Erskine, second daughter of David fourth Lord Cardross, who succeeded as ninth Earl of Buchan. By this lady, who was with her family in Stirling Castle at the time of the Colonel’s death, he had thirteen children, of whom two sons and three daughters survived their father. The sons adopted the military profession, and the eldest daughter married, in 1750, Sir William Baird of Saughtonhall, Bart., and their son, Sir James Gardiner Baird, succeeded as fifth Baronet in 1770. Colonel Gardiner’s widow died at Edinburgh in 1774, aged seventy-four.

⁴ The real chapmen or pedlars, all of whom kept pack-horses and carried on a prosperous business, formerly met in a field at Preston annually, on the second Thursday of October, the day on which St. Jerome’s Fair was held. This fair was transferred to the adjoining village of Prestonpans about 1732, and twenty years afterwards ceased to be observed. Nothing is known of the institution of the Fraternity of the Chapmen of the Three Lothians, or of their inducement to select Preston as their stated place of yearly resort. The members residing in East-Lothian were always the most numerous, and Preston was the town nearest the central county of Edinburgh. They commenced their proceedings at Prestonpans by holding a court, and electing a provost, or preses, six bailies, a depute-preses, clerk, treasurer, and councillors. The bailies were, one for Prestonpans and Cockenzie, one for Haddington and North-Berwick, one for Dunbar and Oldhamstocks, one for Musselburgh and Dalkeith, one for Queensferry and Borrowstownness, and one for Linlithgow and Bathgate. They next proceeded to regulate and collect the fines due by the offenders of their rules, and then marched to Preston Cross, preceded by a band of music, where they drank wine, and returned to Prestonpans to finish the ceremonial by a dinner. About 1750 the number of chapmen in East-Lothian were fifteen, in 1796 they had diminished to six, and all the members were only twenty-four.—Sir John Sinclair’s “Statistical Account of Scotland,” vol. xvii. pp. 79, 80.

and, though in a ruinous state, it is not externally much dilapidated. Sir Walter Scott visited this Tower in 1830, and conjectured that the alleged venerable edifice at one time was an outpost of the Lords Home, long powerful in the south-eastern parts of Scotland before the rise of the Hepburns, Earls of Bothwell, and the termination of a series of fortalices extending from Ford Castle on the borders of Berwickshire; but it is uncertain whether this supposition was founded on initial letters or armorial bearings sculptured on the outer walls. The Barony of Preston was acquired by marriage towards the end of the fourteenth century by the Hamiltons of Fingalton¹—a family who are the nearest cadets of the Ducal House of Hamilton, and consequently could not be then the property of the Lords Home. Preston Tower was burnt by the English in 1544,² and by Cromwell in 1650, when the title-deeds and other documents belonging to the Hamiltons of Fingalton, who had assumed the designation of Preston, were all unfortunately destroyed. The Tower was accidentally burnt in 1663, after which it never was inhabited. The ravages which Cromwell's soldiers inflicted after burning the Tower in 1650, are detailed by Sir Thomas Hamilton, then the proprietor. His lands of Preston were devastated, his coal-mines destroyed, his estates sequestrated, and he was fined 1000*l.* sterling. In noticing his personal services and losses he particularly mentions the wilful burning of Preston Tower, in which, among other valuables, his family papers in his charter-chest were consumed, and his subsequent exertions and privations.³ One of the earliest proceedings of the Parliament after the Restoration was to acknowledge his losses, and another Act estimated his losses at 51,866*l.* Scots.⁴ His eldest son William, born in 1647, was created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1673, and sold his lands of Preston, apparently reserving the Tower, to Sir James Oswald his brother-in-law, in 1681; and Robert, his brother and successor in the title, who was conspicuous in the Covenanting conflicts of Drumclog and Bothwell Bridge, never had any personal connexion with the property.

On the shore is the decayed tidal harbour formerly mentioned as Acheson's Haven, and now Morison's Haven, still the deepest and best on that part of the coast of the Frith of Forth.⁵ This little port is only interesting as having been originally formed by the monks of Newbattle, who designated it Newhaven, for the exportation of their coals. This deserted place was considered of such importance in the seventeenth century, that an Act was passed by the Parliament allowing an annual fair in 1698.⁶

The village of Prestonpans, formerly called Salt-Preston on account of its salt pans, extends along the rocky shore in one continued street of no great breadth, nearly a mile from its western extremity. Before the Union it possessed a very extensive import trade with the Continent, which entirely ceased about 1743. Latterly Prestonpans possessed for some years potteries for stone ware, which were relinquished in 1840, and the village is notoriously in repute for its celebrated ale, and the oysters known as Pandores. On the eastern wall of the churchyard is a monument to the memory of Stewart of Physgill, an officer of the royal army, who was killed by the Highlanders at the conflict in 1745.

The most remarkable event in the vicinity was the battle fought on the 21st of September, 1745, in which Sir John Cope was entirely defeated by the Highland Adventurers under Prince Charles Edward in person, and usually designated the battle of Prestonpans, though the field of action was in the parish of Tranent. The Highlanders in their accounts termed it the battle of Gladsmuir, a parish upwards of three

¹ Sir John Hamilton of Fingalton, Knight, married as his first wife Jane, daughter and heiress of Sir James Liddell of Preston, and this alliance conveyed the Barony into his family. His grandson Sir Robert, who succeeded before 1460, granted salt-pans, garners, and other donations to the Abbey of Melrose. Sir David Hamilton of Preston accompanied James V. in his matrimonial voyage to France, and Preston and Salt-Preston, or Prestonpans, were constituted a burgh of barony in his favour, with various privileges, in 1552.

² Sir David Hamilton of Preston, as a reward for his services in the war after the burning of the Tower in 1544, was created Knight-Banneret and Deputy-Marshal of Scotland. Though he actively promoted the Reformation, his judicious conduct recommended him as a negotiator between the contending parties, and his town of Preston was mutually selected as the place of conference, in 1559, by the supporters of the Queen-Dowager and her opponents, the Lords of the Congregation.

³ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. vi. p. 594; vol. vii. p. 98, and Appendix, p. 69.

⁴ Act "in favour of Sir Thomas Hamilton of Preston concerning

the making up his writs that were burnt by the late usurpers in the month of October, 1650 years," and Act estimating his expenditure of "horses, arms, moneys, and other necessaries both at Dunbar and Worcester."—Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. vii. p. 98, and Appendix, p. 69.

⁵ The name of Acheson's Haven is said to have been derived from Sir Archibald Acheson of Gosford, created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1628, and appointed a Judge in the Court of Session in 1626, when he adopted the title of Lord Glencairnie. He was ancestor of the Earls of Gosford in Ireland, yet the sea-port of the ancient monks, which is on the estate of Prestongrange, never appears to have been his property. The present designation of Morison's Haven is from a family of that name, one of whom was a contemporary of Sir Archibald Acheson on the bench, and assumed his seat, also in 1626, by the title of Lord Prestongrange. Morison's Haven, formerly the harbour for Prestonpans, is now almost superseded by the excellent harbour of Cockenzie, two miles eastward.

⁶ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. x. p. 180.

miles distant; but they believed a tradition that a battle was to be fought on a muir, the resort of gleds or kites, well-known birds of prey, which would restore the rightful heir to the throne; and their credulity applied this to the locality.

The Adventurers marched from their camp at Duddingstone, under Arthur's Seat, on the 20th of September, apparently without expecting immediately to encounter the royal army, though they knew that Sir John Cope had disembarked his troops at Dunbar, and instead of the road to Prestonpans by the shore they advanced east to Tranent along the elevated grounds. The contending forces were nearly equal in numbers. Those of Sir John Cope consisted of about 2300 cavalry and infantry, and those of the Adventurers were at least 2500 individuals. But every advantage was in favour of Sir John Cope, who commanded infantry properly disciplined, supported by two regiments of cavalry, and by artillery, which the Highlanders then viewed with superstitious terror. Few of the Adventurers, on the contrary, had ever been under fire, and their cavalry were limited to fifty gentlemen and their retainers. They had only an iron gun, without a carriage, drawn by a Highland pony; and though the Prince proposed to dismiss this useless article, the Chiefs insisted that it should accompany them, alleging that their men attached an extraordinary importance to the possession of the "musket's mother," which in their language was the phrase for a cannon, and that its absence would considerably dispirit them. Many of the Highlanders had no fire-arms, while some possessed merely a broad-sword, a dirk, or a pistol, and the majority of them carried the blade of a scythe nailed to the wooden handle of a pitchfork—a weapon, however, which proved most formidable in the conflict. Such was the motley array who defeated the Hanoverian General, as they designated Sir John Cope.

The Adventurers, on the afternoon of the 20th of September, formed in order of battle on an eminence, a short distance west of Tranent, called Birsley Brae, in sight of the royal troops, by whom they were saluted with shouts of defiance, to which they responded by imprecations in the Gaelic language. They ascertained that Sir John Cope was prepared to receive them on level ground east of Prestonpans, and also that the march over the morass, which now consists of fertile fields, was dangerous, if not impracticable. Lord George Murray, who acted as their lieutenant-general, was concerting the mode of attack, and halting opposite Preston Tower, he appeared to threaten the flank of the royal troops, which induced Sir John Cope to change his position. The evolutions of the Adventurers compelled him to alter his arrangements at least four times. He was aware that his situation was unfavourable, and that he could act only on the defensive. This was the conviction of Colonel Gardiner, who was at the head of his regiment, now the Fourteenth Light Dragoons, and knew intimately the localities in the vicinity of his own residence. It is said that the Colonel offered Sir John Cope his house and grounds of Bankton if he would be allowed to place the artillery. This was refused, and the Colonel retired with a strong presentiment of the result, and of his own fate.

The Adventurers encamped in the fields east of Tranent, and a "council of war" was held in the village, at which it was decided, by the advice of Lord George Murray, that the attack should commence at sunrise. The principal inn of Tranent, a tenement of merely two apartments, afforded temporary accommodation to the Prince, the titular Duke of Perth, and another officer of rank. They dined in this hostelry in the afternoon, and the landlady cautiously removed every article of value even from such distinguished guests, lest the unceremonious cupidity of the "wild Highlandmen" might be excited. She regaled the Prince and his companions with "kail," or broth, and beef, of which they partook from a shallow wooden platter, and she produced only two wooden spoons, the one exclusively used by the Prince, and the other alternately by the Duke and his friend. They were obliged to cut the animal food with a common butcher's knife, and to eat it with their fingers. A few piquets were placed round the bivouac for the night, and the Highlanders reposed in the open air, which, by their mode of life, was no privation. The Prince selected a sheaf of peas for his pillow, and stretched himself on the stubble with his officers. It is sentimentally asserted, that while Sir John Cope was in comfortable quarters at Cockenzie House, the "unfortunate descendant of Robert Bruce lay on a bed of peas straw, and in the open field, surrounded by his humble but devoted retainers."¹ This, however, was merely prudential choice, and resulted from peculiar circumstances.

¹ *Memoirs of the Pretenders and their Adherents*, by John Heneage Jesse, 8vo. 1845, vol. i. p. 267.

The morass was carefully examined by an officer, who declared that it was almost impassible by the Highlanders, and peculiarly dangerous. A gentleman named Anderson of Whitburgh was at this so-called "council of war" when the report was delivered, who had often shot snipes on the ground, and was intimately acquainted with its condition. He was silent during the discussion, after which he waited on Hepburn of Keith and Lord George Murray, informing them that he knew a dry part of the morass which could shelter the Highlanders from exposure to the fire of the royal forces, and who would not even see them at such an early hour. He was brought to the Prince, who sat on his couch of peas straw, and listened with delight to the announcement. The offer was eagerly accepted, and the plan of attack finally arranged.

The fight commenced at the morning twilight, in the narrow road leading from the village of Preston by Colonel Gardiner's mansion of Bankton to Tranent. It is unnecessary to detail minutely the particulars of a conflict which lasted only a few minutes. The royal troops were panic struck from the sudden and stealthy attack by the Highlanders at the daybreak of a very hazy morning, were completely routed, and fled in every direction. Sir John Cope passed through the victorious Adventurers unchallenged by displaying a white cockade, the badge of the adherents of the House of Stuart, and was the first to carry into England the tidings of his defeat.¹ A small body of cavalry rode furiously to Edinburgh, and demanded admission into the Castle. They found the gates closed by order of General Guest, the commander of the garrison, who intimated to them that if they refused instantly to depart he would discharge his artillery on cowards who had deserted their colours. Only one hundred and seventy of the infantry escaped, about four hundred fell in the brief conflict, and the remainder surrendered as prisoners. The greater number of the standards of the royal forces, and the whole of their artillery, fell into the hands of the Adventurers, who also obtained possession of Sir John Cope's military chest at Cockenzie House, containing nearly or probably upwards of 2500*l*. The loss of the Adventurers was only three officers and thirty men, with seventy or eighty wounded. Many of the slain were interred near the farm-house of Thorntree-Mains, so called from the thorn-tree which marks the pit into which the dead bodies were indiscriminately thrown.

The principal calamity was the death of Colonel Gardiner, whose life was worth hecatombs of the semi-barbarian mountaineers who defeated the royal troops.² He had passed the night in a field, wrapped in his cloak, under the shelter of a rick of barley near his own mansion of Bankton, and his anticipations of his fate appear to have been increased by religious excitement. About three in the morning he summoned his four domestic servants who were in waiting, and dismissed three of them with affectionate and pious advices, which apparently intimated that it was his last farewell of them. He then applied himself to devotional exercises during the remainder of the time, which could not have been more than an hour. At the commencement of the onset he was wounded by a bullet in his left breast, which made him spring in the saddle. His servant, who led his horse, urged him to retire, but he said it was merely a wound in the flesh, and continued in action, though he immediately received a shot in his right thigh. It was discerned that some of the insurgents fell by him. He was for a few moments supported by Lieutenant-Colonel Whitney, who was shot through the arm, by Lieutenant West, and by a few dragoons, who continued with him to the last. It was in vain attempted to rally the royal troops, who precipitately fled after a faint fire. In the brief conflict, deserted by his soldiers, and almost the only officer who remained faithful to his duty, he perceived a small party of infantry gallantly defending themselves. He exclaimed—"These brave fellows will be cut to pieces for want of a commander;" and he rode to them, saying—"Fire on, my lads, and fear nothing." Colonel Gardiner had scarcely uttered these words, when he was struck by a Highland savage armed with a scythe fixed to a long pole, and he received a severe wound on his right arm, which compelled him to drop his sword.³ Others assailed

¹ This latter circumstance is most sarcastically noticed in the Jacobite ballad, universally known in Scotland, entitled "Johnnie Cope," in which is the doggerel couple—

"Says Lord Mark Kerr, you are no blate
To bring the news of your ain defeat."

This Lord Mark Kerr, who was hated by the Jacobites, was the fourth son of Robert, fourth Earl and first Marquis of Lothian.

² The biography of the brave and excellent Colonel Gardiner, by his friend Dr. Philip Doddridge, is well known, and he is prominently introduced in "Waverley" as commander of the regiment of Dragoons, then designated Gardiner's Dragoons, in which Edward Waverley obtained his commission.

³ It is usually alleged that a stalwart Celt, known as the "Miller of Invernahayle," cut down Colonel Gardiner. This statement must be croneous, if the following, written in 1835, is correct:—"Samuel



THE FIELD OF PRESTONPANS, (DEATH OF COLONEL GARDINER.)

From an Original Drawing by Sir W. Allan, P.R.S.

JOHN G. MURDOCH. LONDON



TINTAGEL CASTLE

from an English Drawing by J. G. Murdoch

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

him, and he was dragged from his horse. When the Colonel fell, another Highlander, who is said to have been executed twelve months afterwards, inflicted the mortal blow on the back of his head. He could only say to his servant as his last words—"Take care of yourself." This occurred near the west end of the hamlet, not then in existence, called the Meadow Mill, and not more than a fourth of a mile from his own house. The servant fled to a mill two miles distant, and returned in the disguise of a miller, with a cart, about two hours after the conflict had terminated. The Colonel was found breathing, though insensible, plundered of his watch, money, and every article of value, and even stripped of his boots and upper clothing. As his mansion was in possession of the Adventurers, he was conveyed to the then manse of Tranent, where he was laid in bed, and continued frequently groaning till about eleven in the forenoon, when he expired, in the fifty-sixth year of his age.¹ He was interred on Tuesday, the 24th of September, within the parish church of Tranent—an edifice supplanted by the present structure, erected in 1800. No monument has been reared to the memory of this most worthy hero, whose very grave was long forgotten, until it was accidentally discovered, and the Colonel's skull retained the mark of the stroke of the Lochaber axe, while his military "club," bound firmly with silk, dressed with hair-powder, was almost quite fresh.

Many anecdotes were long preserved of the Highlanders in connexion with the conflict. They indiscriminately plundered friend and foe, literally acting as thieves, and rifling the pockets of those who had resorted from the villages to view the scene of battle. They eagerly appropriated every article on which they could lay hands; and from their ignorance of the value of the spoils, especially watches, they often committed ludicrous mistakes. A pit was excavated below Tranent churchyard to inter some dragoons, into which they were thrown undivested of their clothes. A Highlander happened to pass, and seeing boots on one of the soldiers, he desired the person who was filling the pit to draw them off. This was refused, and the mountaineer, after some hesitation, commenced operations. While stooping, the indignant rustic struck him with his spade on the head, and he was inhumed unceremoniously with the dragoons. Many deserted, and returned to their fastnesses and glens with the plunder, convinced that they had acquired a competency for life.

TANTALLON CASTLE.

THE position of Tantallon or Tantallan Castle, the former stronghold of the once powerful Douglasses, appears in remarkable contrast to the objects in East-Lothian already described. We now leave the smooth or undulating fields of the most celebrated district in Scotland for cultivation, and proceed to the coast, where a broken line of rocks, rough and brown, or of the darkest hue, in reality an almost iron-bound continuation of rugged and wild precipices, overlooks the entrance to the Frith of Forth and the broad expanse of the German Ocean. On the most conspicuous of these stern projections are the ruins of Tantallon Castle, a fortress prominently introduced by Sir Walter Scott as the stronghold in which Marmion took leave of Archibald fifth Earl of Angus, commonly designated the "Great Earle" and "Bell-the-Cat." This vast pile, which was once some distance from the sea, is three miles east of North-Berwick and eight miles north-west of Dunbar, on the summit of an extensive and lofty promontory of trap-tuff, which is hollowed into inaccessible precipices by the action of the waves, and is surrounded on three sides by the sea.²

The date of the erection of Tantallon Castle is unknown. Sir Walter Scott states that the Fortress

Anderson, who by his Lochaber axe killed the pious and brave Colonel Gardiner, was a native of this parish (Kilmalie). His grandson is one of the elders at present. He used to say that he and his comrade acted in self-defence, for the Colonel galloped up and attacked them."—*New Statistical Account of Scotland—Inverness-shire*, p. 121.

¹ The manse now occupied by the parish minister of Tranent was built in 1781, and must not be mistaken, as it commonly is, for the house in which Colonel Gardiner died, and from which he was carried to the church for interment.

² The situation of the fortifications of Tantallon Castle is thus briefly described in "Marmion,"—

"Broad, massive, high, and stretching far,
And held impregnable in war,
On a projecting rock they rose,
And round three sides the ocean flows.
The fourth did battled walls enclose,
And double mound and fosse.

"is believed to have belonged in more ancient times to the Earls of Fife, the descendants of Macduff. It was certainly in the possession of Isabel, the last Countess of that renowned line, and was comprehended in the settlement which she made of her honours and estates upon Robert Stewart, Earl of Menteith, whom she recognised by that deed as her lawful and nearest heir in 1371." This Earl of Menteith, who married Margaret, Countess of Menteith in her own right, grand-daughter of Murdoch eighth Earl, was the third son of Robert II., and was afterwards Earl of Fife, Duke of Albany, and Regent of Scotland. Their son Murdoc, second Duke, who succeeded his father in 1419, and also obtained the Regency while James I. was a captive in England, was the next proprietor. He was beheaded, with two of his sons and the Earl of Lennox, at Stirling, in May 1425, the year after his Duchess, who was implicated in the sudden arrest of himself, his family, and adherents, had been transferred as a prisoner from the hall to the dungeon of the Castle which she at the time inhabited. In 1427, Alexander Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, who had been the leader of a rebellion in the Highlands, was after his submission to James I. committed to Tantallon under the charge of George, fourth Earl of Angus, the King's nephew, and father of "Bell-the-Cat," and who obtained a grant of the King's Castle of Temptallone," and the adjacent lands, which were constituted a Barony in June 1452. This acquisition by the House of Douglas was confirmed to "Bell-the-Cat" in October 1479. After the downfall of the chief of that family the Fortress and Barony were obtained by a younger branch, whose increasing power endangered the throne.

In July 1528, James V., then a youth of about fifteen years of age, escaped from the thralldom of Archibald sixth Earl of Angus, against whom a war was commenced to seize his strongholds; and the operations to reduce Tantallon indicate its strength as a fortress to resist the rude artillery of that time, although its position is commanded from all the adjacent fields. In September an act of attainder was passed against the House of Douglas, and the forfeiture of their possessions included Tantallon. An army of 12,000 men, with a train of artillery, invested the fortress, and after a siege of twenty days were compelled to desist. The Earl of Angus was absent in Berwickshire, declining to hazard himself in any place of strength, and observing the maxim of his predecessor, that "it was better to hear the lark sing than the mouse cheep." Two of the cannons brought against Tantallon were known as "thrawin-mouthed Meg and her Marrow." James V. was obliged to return to Edinburgh, and withdrew his forces, leaving a small detachment to protect the artillery. Angus suddenly issued from his retreat at the head of one hundred and sixty followers, routed the detachment, and captured the leader, whom he released after conveying the artillery to some distance in its destined passage, telling him to assure the King of his loyal services, and that his hostility was solely directed against his evil advisers. The proceedings to crush the House of Douglas were eventually successful, and the Earl fled to England. Tantallon was surrendered on the 4th of December, 1528, to the royal forces by Simon Penango, who had intimated to Angus that he was "evill victualled," and wanted ammunition and artillery, which the Earl was unable to supply. James V. rewarded Penango, placed in Tantallon a sufficient garrison with ample stores, repaired the walls, and conferred the command on his favourite, Oliver St. Clair. The King visited the Fortress in 1537 to inspect its condition and the artillery. While in the possession of the King the fortifications appear to have been enlarged and considerably strengthened.¹ After the death of James V., in December 1542, the Earl of Angus returned from exile, was restored to all his castles and estates, and rendered Tantallon stronger than it had been at any time; but he never recovered his former power, and in reality he came to Scotland by the favour of Henry VIII. Sir Ralph Sadler resided some time in Tantallon Castle for his personal security, while the unpopular negotiations which he was sent to superintend were in progress with the young Prince Edward and the infant Queen Mary, and he has recorded a notice of the declining resources of the House of Douglas. The Earl of Angus was unwilling that he should inspect the bareness of his establishment, and he sent his servant, who reported that the Castle was "cleanly unfurnished both of bedding and all manner of household stuff, and none to be bought or hired, nor no manner of provision to be made thereof, nor any kind of victual nearer than this town, which is twenty miles off." Sadler again observes, that though Tantallon is "easily" or "poorly" furnished, and "slendour lodging in it, yet, I assure you, it is of such strength as I must not fear the malice of mine enemies, and therefore do now think myself to be out of danger." The Earl of Angus died in Tantallon Castle in 1556. Another English ambassador was an inmate of the Fortress in

¹ In the Lord High Treasurer's Books is this entry, under date 6th October, 1536—"To Olipher Sinclaire at the Kingis command to the Warkis at Tamtallome, lxxvj li. xiijs. iiijd."—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 298.

1572. This was Killegrew, who was sent by Queen Elizabeth, secretly instructed, to devise the execution of the captive Queen Mary in a manner the least likely to excite a dangerous sensation, and his first residence was in Tantallon, in which the Earl of Morton was then confined by indisposition.

In 1639 the Covenanters besieged and secured Tantallon Castle, to revenge the loyalty of William eleventh Earl of Angus and first Marquis of Douglas, who adhered to Charles I., and they garrisoned the Fortress against the king. In January 1651, the Captain of the Bass seized an English vessel laden with stores, on the voyage to Leith, and some of the crew were imprisoned in Tantallon. General Monk resolved to reduce the Fortress, and advanced with three regiments of horse and infantry. He stationed his artillery on the high ground south of the spring, known as St. Baldred's Well. The garrison under Alexander Seton refused to surrender, and Monk plied his mortar-pieces two days. These made little impression, and his battering guns were more successful. Sir James Balfour states that the siege continued twelve days, and that the assailants entered by a large breach, the stones of which filled the ditch. The garrison entrenched the tower and obtained conditions. This was the last military operation against Tantallon, and closes its historical career.

This huge pile was considered so impregnable, that to "ding down Tantallon," and to "mak' a brig to the Bass," were by the local peasantry long held to be equally impossible.¹ The latter difficulty is undeniable, but the events of 1639 and 1651 disproved the former. Nevertheless, so strong is the position of Tantallon Castle, that the adage would apply before the invention of artillery. The only entrance is from the west, where the Fortress was defended by two ditches, the vestiges of which are still very distinct, and the interior, close to the principal part of the pile, rendered steep by the scraping of the rock. The remains of considerable works are beyond the area of the outer ditch. The Fortress was also secured on the west side by massive towers, and here was the drawbridge in connexion with the gateway, which led into the main court. The enclosed area is cut off by these towers and curtains, and the dilapidated edifices rise immediately over the precipices on the west. The central portion of the Fortress may be said to be a rounded front, which projects considerably forward from two extensive curtains of a lofty wall stretching obliquely towards the sea. On this edifice are seen the remains of a coat of arms, the only piece of sculpture on the gloomy pile, except a slightly perceptible moulding round the circular arch of the doorway beneath, at which are the indications of buttresses, probably connected with the drawbridge of the inner moat. Tantallon consists of three circular and square towers, the walls of enormous thickness, united by lofty ramparts. The east and west towers and the curtains are the oldest portions, and the central is supposed to be of the time of the sixth Earl of Angus. The buildings towards the sea are almost entirely destroyed, yet the Castle was habitable before it was dismantled by Lord President Sir Hew Dalrymple, who died in 1737. The interior displays broken staircases, inaccessible apartments, and fragments of roofless chambers. Beneath the piles of ruins are arched vaults and dark excavated dungeons, in which many acts of cruelty were inflicted on the miserable captives in feudal times. One of the deepest and most dismal is without the Castle, at the north-west angle, and is conjectured to have been the donjon-keep of the guard-house. These vaults were long the haunts of smugglers, and the unsuspected receptacles of their commodities.² The neglected garden, fringed on the north and east by thickets of diminutive elder-bushes, is the

¹ This ancient familiar proverb for centuries characterised supposed exploits which cannot be achieved, and is an old military tradition said to have formed the burden of the "Scots March." It is usually presented as a half stanza—

"Ding down Tantallon,
Mak' a brig to the Bass."

Hamilton of Gilbertfield complimented Allan Ramsay, the author of the "Gentle Shepherd," that—

"Nowther Hielanman nor Lawlan,
In poetrie,
But mocht as weel ding down Tantallon
As match wi' thee."

Time, however, is fast "dinging down" the stately and massive towers of Tantallon Castle.

² A band of thieves, headed by an old sailor who had been wrecked

on the rocky islet of Fidra, near North-Berwick, entrenched themselves in the upper apartment of Tantallon Castle. They had constructed a ladder of ropes, which they could use and remove at pleasure, and for weeks they sallied out at night, plundering the neighbourhood of clothes and provisions. Some of the North-Berwick fishermen had seen lights at night twinkling in the upper part of the ruins, from slit-openings and shot-holes, which, as these lights were considered supernatural, excited no suspicion. A Highland servant, while planting ivy at the base of the old walls, was invisibly pelted with pieces of lime, and superstitious fear constrained him to be silent. At last the general dismay was relieved by some young women, who, while working in the Castle garden, was startled by perceiving a weather-beaten face intently gazing at them from a window in the fourth storey. They fled and raised the alarm, which was soon followed by the capture and punishment of the marauders.—Geology of the Bass, by Hugh Miller, in the "Bass Rock, its Civil and Ecclesiastical History," &c., 8vo. 1848, pp. 75, 76.

only memorial of the scene admirably described in "Marmion" as the favourite resort of the Lady Clare, and was certainly, with the sight of the Bass, the opposite Island of May, the expanse of the Frith of Forth, and the German Ocean, a most appropriate locality for meditation. The whole is now one of the many remains of extinct feudal grandeur and lordly power.

THE BASS.

NEARLY opposite Tantallon Castle, and apparently close to the ruins, though in reality at least two miles distant, is the "sea-rock immense, amazing Bass," which rises abruptly from the sea upwards of four hundred and twenty feet, and from the fathomed depth of the water probably six hundred feet of elevation. This huge and wondrous mass of clinkstone, the abode of myriads of sea-fowl, is peculiarly perpendicular, and appears in dark and isolated grandeur, presenting a series of rude columns bent forward on the shelves formed by cross-jointings, on which the sea-fowl rear their young. The highest side is on the north, and on the south the surface is conical, sloping rapidly towards the sea. The Bass is fully a mile in circumference, and the area of grassy surface, nearly seven acres, affording pasturage to a few sheep. A cavern, nearly thirty feet high, and five hundred feet in length, perforates the Rock from north-west to south-east, which can be explored at ebb tide, and is entered by a natural niche upwards of one hundred feet high, the roof displaying minute tufts of rock-fern. The interior contains nothing attractive, and the roof closes at the entrance, where a projection excludes the daylight. In the centre of this cavern is a dark pool of three or four feet water at low ebb, and within the south-eastern entrance an accumulation of boulders occupies the remaining portion of the length. Near the north-west opening is a gravel beach, chiefly covered at spring tides, when it is lashed by the violence of the waves, but generally the surrounding channel is free from rocks or sand, and is of great depth.

The only landing-place on the Bass is on the south-east side, beneath the now ruinous fortifications, and is remarkably steep and difficult. This landing-place, which is cut out of the solid rock, leads to the first of three terraces of the sloping acclivity. This terrace contains the ruinous Fortress, so constructed that a single line of wall built across the point from east to west renders it inaccessible, and completely secures the whole island, joining at one extremity a steep cliff which rises towards the second terrace, and terminates with the rock-edge descending perpendicularly into the sea. On this middle platform or terrace, which is exactly above the cavern, are the remains of the Chapel. The upper and largest terrace is immediately under the summit of the rock, on which was the flag-staff. Here is a levelled space, formerly the garden, enclosed by a dilapidated wall, and in the centre is a deep square excavation called the Well, the water of which is very disagreeable. All the doors of the ruins are open, with the exception of one, by which the tenant protects the upper part of the Rock, and the sheep and unfledged birds, from rude visitors. This door divides the surface of the Rock into two unequal lower and upper parts, confining the sheep to the latter, while over the surface of both range a colony of rabbits.

The Bass is one of the most stupendous natural curiosities in Scotland, and rises from the sea like an enormous eruption of a former world. From the opposite coast of Fife the view is peculiarly impressive, especially when the setting sun reflects on its huge columns, or the foaming billows dash against its massive sides.¹ The earliest notice of the Bass is connected with religious seclusion. At the end of the sixth

¹ Boece, in the sixteenth century, describes the Bass, in his antiquated phraseology, as "ane wonderful crag risand within the sea, with so narrow and strait hals (passage), that no schip nor boat may arrive bot allenarlie at ane part of it; and (is) unwinnabill be engine of man." He also states that "every thing in that crag is full of admiration and wonder," and he describes "ane multitude of fish callit by the pepil bassinates,"—evidently seals or sea-dogs, which frequent the mouth of the Tyne at Tynninghame House, and no longer excite the terror of man, or cause murrain to cattle. Monsieur Beague, in "the Regency of Mary of Guise," states that the Bass is an "impregnable rock of a small extent and oval figure, cut out by the hands of nature. It has only one avenue that leads to it, and that is

towards the castle, but so very difficult and uneasy, that by reason of the hidden sands that surround the Rock, nothing can approach it but one little boat at a time.—Those that enter the castle must climb up by the help of a strong cable thrown down for the purpose, and when they have got with much ado to the foot of the wall, they sit down in a wide basket, and in this position are mounted up by strength of hands. There is no getting into this wonderful fortress by any other means."—Beague's History of the Campaigns, 1548 and 1549, between the Scots and French on the one side, and the English and their Foreign Auxiliaries on the other, 8vo. 1707, translated from the French by Dr. Abercromby. The assertion that "hidden sands" render the Bass difficult of access is erroneous.



THE PASS ROCK

From an Original Drawing by C. Harbord R.A.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

century flourished St. Baldred, the apostle, as he is called, of East-Lothian, and designated "Doctor of the Piets," though Christianity is said to have been preached in East-Lothian a century earlier. St. Baldred is traditionally alleged to have selected the Bass for his devotions, and he is consequently known as St. Baldred of the Bass. He is said to have been a disciple of St. Mungo of Glasgow, and a credulous authority represents him as the successor of the same St. Mungo in that See.¹ It is also stated, that though he selected the Bass as his residence, his pastoral care extended from the Lammermuir range to the Esk at Musselburgh—that he performed numerous miracles—and that he died on the Rock in March, A.D. 606. Sundry remarkable prodigies are recorded of his interment.² This anchorite has transmitted his name to various localities on the shore, which were long held in veneration, and well known to the peasantry of the respective vicinities.³ Whatever credit may be assigned to St. Baldred and his labours, a chapel existed on the Bass in remote times. The Rock anciently formed a parish, and the "kirk in the Crag of the Bass" was consecrated in honour of the holy man in 1542, by the authority of Cardinal Beaton.⁴ This was the present ruinous chapel, erected on the site of St. Baldred's cell, which was used for divine service till after the Reformation, when the want of inhabitants rendered a preacher unnecessary.⁵ The Bass is now parochially annexed to North-Berwick, the incumbent of which, as representing the vicar, receives annually twelve solan geese "entire with feathers."

The earliest known proprietors of the Bass were the family of Lauder, the chief of whom was usually styled "Lauder of the Bass," though their residence is supposed to have been in the burgh of North-Berwick. A charter from William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, in favour of Robert Lauder, one of the companions of Sir William Wallace, was dated 4th June, 1316.⁶ In the aisle of the old church at North-Berwick was long visible the tombstone of this proprietor's father, containing the pompous inscription—"Here lies the good Robert Lauder, the great Laird of Congalton and the Bass." This monument existed in 1722, and the original inscription, with its doubtful date, was carved in Saxon letters.⁷ It is said that the Priory of St. Andrews possessed a right to a part of the Bass, but the Lauder family had acquired the greater portion of this singular property long before the date of Bishop Lamberton's charter, and it is ascertained that the Rock belonged to them nearly five centuries.

In 1405 Robert III. placed his son, afterwards James I., on the Bass, for security from the projects of his brother the Duke of Albany, till a vessel was prepared to convey him to France, and the young Prince embarked from the Rock to be seized by the English off Flamborough Head—the very misfortune which his father was anxious to avoid, and when informed of it in Rothesay Castle, caused his death in bitter anguish in 1406. James I. returned from his captivity of nineteen years in 1424, when Walter Stewart, eldest son of Murdoch, Duke of Albany, was committed a prisoner to the Bass. The Island is seldom subsequently mentioned in the records of the Parliaments. The family of Lauder refused the solicitations of successive monarchs to sell the Rock. About 1569 or 1570, the Earl of Morton attempted to obtain it, and some

¹ Dempsteri *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1829, vol. i. p. 65.

² St. Baldred was so much esteemed, that the three mainland parishes of Aldhame, Tynninghame, and Preston, claimed his remains. As it was impossible to satisfy rival demands, and to prevent a conflict for the body of the holy man, the disputants were advised to devote the night to prayer, and in the morning they found three biers with three bodies decently covered, and so like each other that no man could perceive the least difference. Each corpse was joyfully carried by the parties to their respective churches, and interred with great solemnity.—St. Baldred of the Bass, and other Poems, by James Millar, 8vo. 1834, pp. 5, 6.

³ A rock near the mouth of the Tyne is called "St. Baldred's Cradle;" another rock, which the holy man miraculously removed from the middle of the channel between the Bass and the mainland, is known as "St. Baldred's Boat;" half a mile south of Tantallon Castle is "St. Baldred's Well;" and his alleged statue, which was broken by an "irreverent mason," was long in Prestonkirk churchyard.

⁴ Under date 1542 it is stated—"The v. day of January, M. Villielm Gibsone, Byschop of Libariensis, and Suffragenens to David Beton,

Cardynall and Archbyshop of Santandrois, consecrat and dedicat the parish kirk in the Craig of the Bass in honour of Sant Baldred, Byschop and Confessor, in presence of Maister John Lawder, Archdene in Teuidail, noter publict."—*Extracta ex Chronicis Scocie*, printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, 4to. 1829, p. 255.

⁵ In the "Buik of Assignations of the Ministeris and Reidaris Stipends," for 1576, it is stated, "Bass and Auldham neidis na Reidaris." A curious incident occurred on the Bass in more recent times. This was the reception into the Roman Catholic Church of a young lady in presence of her father and the tenant and his boat-assistant. The ceremony was performed by the officiating priest in the ruinous chapel consecrated to St. Baldred.—*New Statistical Account of Scotland—Haddingtonshire*, p. 331.

⁶ Bishop Lamberton's charter, which was confirmed by John de Forfar, Prior of St. Andrews, was stolen from the Grange House, near Edinburgh, with a number of other documents and articles, on the night of the 18th September, 1836, and was never recovered.

⁷ Nisbet's *Heraldry*, folio, 1722, vol. i. p. 443. Nisbet adds, in reference to the date, "Some read mcccxi, and others mcccxi."

notices of his designs are preserved.¹ In 1581 James VI. visited the Bass, and was anxious to secure it for the Crown, which appears from the reply of the proprietor to have been in temporary possession.²

It is said that the Lauders of the Bass, never very opulent, decayed as a family in the seventeenth century. During the Civil Wars the proprietor of the Bass was a zealous royalist; and his daughter, whom some identify with the heroine of Anstruther or Anster Fair, is mentioned as a lady of masculine qualifications. In 1649 the Earl of Haddington and Hepburn of Waughton were conjunct proprietors, and about the time of the restoration of Charles II. the Bass was the property of Sir Andrew Ramsay, of Abbotshall, in Fife, who was several years Lord Provost of Edinburgh, and who sold the Rock to the Government for 4000*l.* in 1671. The Bass was then constituted a state prison, and the Chapel was the magazine for the garrison. Numbers of the turbulent Covenanters were consigned to safe custody on the Rock in the reigns of Charles II. and James II. A list of thirty-nine individuals is recorded, the first of whom was a Robert Gillespie, who was sent to the Bass in 1672. The most conspicuous of those prisoners were John Blackadder, minister of Troqueer, father of Colonel John Blackadder, Sir Hugh and Sir George Campbell of Cessnock, Alexander Gordon of Earlston, and Major Learmonth, a Covenanted officer. Blackadder died on the Bass in 1685, after a confinement of five years, and was interred in North-Berwick churchyard, in which a large flat stone, with a poetical inscription, marks his grave. A wretched apartment, called "Blackadder's Cell," is shown, its three small iron-barred windows looking to the west. It is curious that all those "martyrs of the Bass," as they are foolishly designated by their admirers, were offered liberty, if they would promise not to molest the Government; and some of them were, by their obstinacy, imprisoned years. James Mitchell, who attempted to assassinate Archbishop Sharp of St. Andrews in the High Street of Edinburgh, in July 1668, and Fraser of Brae, a noted Covenanted preacher, were brought to the Bass on the 30th of January, 1677, under a guard of twelve horse and thirty foot. The last Covenanted prisoner was John Spreul, a fanatical apothecary in Glasgow, who was committed in July 1681, and released in May 1687, in which year Major Learmonth was liberated on account of his health, after a domicile of five years. The Government, however, sent persons to the Bass who were not Covenanters. One of them was a Leith Quaker, for railing at his parish minister; a second was a Roman Catholic priest, named George Young, whose offence in 1769 is not recorded; and a third was John Philip, the episcopal incumbent or "curate" of Queensferry, who was deposed for refusing the "Test," and was accused before the Privy Council in March 1683 for denouncing the Duke of York as a "great tyrant," who was "detestable to the subjects;" for asserting that the Bishop of Edinburgh and the Lord Advocate—Dr. John Paterson and Sir George Mackenzie—were "bloody and cruel men, and that he hoped to see them suffer for it;" and for maintaining that the Earl of Argyll had been unjustly forfeited. This political "curate" was fined 2000*l.* sterling, to be paid within a fortnight, declared infamous, and ordered to be imprisoned for life on the Bass, where his avowed principles would render him a more suitable companion to the Covenanters than the Leith Quaker and the Roman Catholic priest.

The garrison of the Bass refused to acknowledge the Revolution, and held out under Charles Maitland, the deputy-governor, in the name of James II. till 1690, when they surrendered. In that year some adherents of James II. contrived to obtain temporary possession. They had been sent as prisoners, and having expelled the garrison, they were supplied with provisions by their friends on shore, plundered merchant-vessels, exacted tribute from every ship which approached within reach of their artillery, and resisted every attempt to dislodge them for four years. Their commander was David Blair, son of Blair of Ardblair, who caused Andrew Fletcher of Salton, the Revolution governor, considerable trouble and expense. William III. at last sent two large ships of war against them, which, assisted by small vessels, intercepted their provisions, and compelled them to capitulate in 1694. They obtained easy terms, probably by a stratagem of their leader, who, having some bottles of excellent French wine and brandy, and a quantity of biscuits, regaled the deputation sent to negotiate, and pretended that he had abundance of supplies. He also ordered all the hats and coats to be placed on muskets, which he ranged close

¹ Wishart of Pitarrow told the Regent Moray—"I hear say my Lord of Morton is trafficking to get the house of the Bass, which, if he does, he will stop some devices your Grace knows; and therefore, were I in your Grace's stead, I would go between the cow and the corn. I tell you the auld Crag is a good starting-hole; at least it will serve

to keep them that you would be sure of."—Richard Bannatyne's *Memoriales of Transactions in Scotland, 1569-1573*, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1836, pp. 9, 10.

² The reply was, "Your Majesty must e'en resign it to me, for I'll have the auld Crag back again."



W. J. N. & A.

From an Original Drawing by E. Hampden Esq.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

to the walls, as if the Fortress was full of soldiers; and this device had its influence on the Privy Council. The fortifications and defences were reduced to ruins in 1701, and in 1706 the Bass was granted to Sir Hew Hamilton Dalrymple, Bart., the Crown reserving the assumption of possession. The King of the Belgians, while Prince Leopold, visited the Bass in 1819. The landing-place was prepared in 1822 for George IV., who was contented with the salute from the artillery brought from Leith Fort. One corroded gun is the only memorial of the former cannon. The buildings, in front of which was a small parade ground, were long accessible only by ladders, or a bucket raised by a chain at the crane bastion. Subsequently the ingress was and still is by three flights of steps, protected by as many gates, which have disappeared. Though roofless and in complete desolation, the ruins are externally entire, and the garden produces some wild flowers, such as the common daffodil and the pale narcissus. Fraser of Brae mentions cherry-trees, of the fruit of which he occasionally partook. Formerly visitors were constituted "burgesses of the Bass" by drinking the water of the well, and receiving a flower out of the garden.

The Bass, in its ocean solitude, has been long inhabited by sea-fowl, a colony of rabbits, and a few sheep, and is superintended by the tenant or keeper, who resides in the hamlet of Canty Bay on the mainland. The gannets, or solan geese, the puffin, large black gull, kittiwake, common marot, or guillemot, razor-billed millot, or common puffin, falcon or hawk, large raven, eider duck, cormorant, and innumerable flocks of smaller birds, resort to and breed on the Bass. The solan geese are annual migratory birds, arriving at the Bass early in February in successive myriads. Their gannets are taken in the beginning of August, after which the parents depart, though many linger till October, and thousands often remain throughout the winter, attracted by the herring shoals, the movements of which regulate these sea-fowl.

DUNBAR CASTLE.

THE royal burgh and seaport of Dunbar, eleven miles from Haddington and twenty-eight miles east from Edinburgh, was originated by its Castle, which was anciently enclosed by a strong wall, and was entered by three ports or gates. Dunbar Castle is of such antiquity that it was burnt in A.D. 856 by Kenneth II., according to the tradition related by Buchanan. The same suspicious narrator of fabulous Scottish history gravely asserts that the town derives its name from a warrior called Bar, though it is more likely that the appellation describes the situation of the stronghold on the summit of cliffs projecting into the sea. In 1072 Malcolm III. bestowed the manor on Cospatrick, Earl of Northumberland, the reputed first Earl of Dunbar and March, who appears to have held the Castle. This personage, who was the ancestor of a great and martial family, came to Scotland in 1063 with Edgar, the deprived heir of the Saxon line, and his sister Margaret, who became the Queen of Malcolm. It is unnecessary to detail the adventures of Cospatrick after the conquest of England by William the Norman, with whom he was at one time in favour, and obtained the government of Northumberland, of which he was deprived in 1072. Dunbar Castle, or "Earl Patrick's Stronghold," was the principal baronial residence of his descendants, who during four centuries maintained an almost regal power and authority in the eastern districts of Scotland. Lord Hailes alleges that the account by Boece of this family is an "ignorant fiction," and ridicules his narrative that the founder was a Patrick Dunbar, who attacked a formidable band of robbers about the year 1061, killed six hundred of them, hanged eighty, and presented the head of their commander to King Malcolm, who as a reward created him Earl of March, and granted to him certain lands, with the privilege of displaying a banner on which the bloody head of a robber was painted.¹

Patrick, fifth Earl of Dunbar and March, invited his relatives and neighbours to celebrate Christmas, in 1231, at Dunbar Castle, and after an entertainment of four days he received the monastic habit from the Abbot of Melrose. In 1285 Patrick, seventh Earl, was visited by no less a personage than Thomas Learmonth, called the "Rhymer," renowned for his supposed prophetic gifts, and who on that occasion announced to the Earl the fate of Alexander III., who was killed by a fall from his horse near Kinghorn in Fife. The Rhymer arrived at the Castle on the night preceding the accident, and in the course of conversation he was asked if the following day would produce any remarkable event. "Alas for to-morrow!" replied the Rhymer; "a day

¹ Annals of Scotland, 4to. vol. i. p. 18.

of misery and woe. Before the twelfth hour shall be a blast which wind and tempest never before caused in Scotland." After this declaration, and other mysterious announcements, the Rhymer retired to his apartment. As the prediction was believed to refer to the weather, Earl Patrick and his friends watched the forenoon of the next day, and as no commotion of the elements occurred, they concluded that the Rhymer was a pretender, and sat down to their repast. The Earl had scarcely commenced his refecton, and was upbraiding the soothsayer, when a messenger arrived on horseback at the gate of the Castle, and demanded instant admittance. He was introduced to the Earl, to whom he said—"I indeed bring tidings most lamentable, and to be deplored by the whole realm of Scotland. Our renowned King has ended his fair life on yonder coast near Kinghorn." "This," exclaimed the Rhymer, who had now secured his reputation, "is the direful wind and tempest which shall be a calamity and trouble to the kingdom of Scotland."

Patrick, eighth Earl, surnamed "Black Beard," adhered to the English interest. His Countess Marjory, daughter of Alexander Comyn, Earl of Buchan, surrendered Dunbar Castle to the Scottish forces in 1296, which induced Edward I. to commission Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, to recover the Fortress. The Scots agreed to submit, unless relieved within three days. On the third day the entire Scottish force appeared in battle array on Doon Hill, nearly three miles south-east of Dunbar—the eminence on which the Covenanting army encamped under General Leslie in 1650 before his defeat by Cromwell, and the result was similar. The Earl of Surrey advanced against the Scottish forces, who rashly left their advantageous position, and rushed down tumultuously on the English. They were completely defeated, and many of the fugitives were received into Dunbar Castle. This conflict occurred on the 28th of April, 1296, and was one of the last disasters which terminated the short and feeble reign of John Baliol. On the day after the battle Edward I. appeared with the remainder of his army, and Richard Seward, the governor, surrendered the Fortress to the English monarch.¹ The Earls of Atholl, Ross, and Menteith,² four barons, thirty-one knights, one hundred esquires, and others of lesser note, were taken prisoners. Three years afterwards the English monarch allowed 200*l.* to the Earl of Dunbar, to furnish the Castle with stores and provisions.

Patrick, ninth Earl, also adhered to the English interest, and opened the gates of the Castle to Edward II. in 1314, after his memorable flight from Bannockburn. The defeated monarch was protected from his pursuers by the Earl, who hospitably entertained him, and conveyed him in a fishing-boat to Berwick; but the Earl also submitted to King Robert Bruce, who was his cousin, and in 1333 demolished Dunbar Castle, to prevent the stronghold falling into the hands of the English. He was, however, persuaded to rebuild the Castle by Edward III., from whom he received some important distinctions. This Earl seems to have been a dubious politician in the matter of allegiance. On the 28th of January, 1337–8, was commenced the most noted siege in the history of the Fortress. The Earl was absent, and the proceedings of his Countess indicate that he was in arms against the English and the supporters of Baliol. This Lady, who from her dark complexion was surnamed "Black Agnes," was the daughter of Randolph, Earl of Moray, Regent of Scotland, nephew of King Robert Bruce, and she resolved to defend her husband's Fortress to the last extremity.

The besiegers, under William de Montague, Earl of Salisbury, assailed the massive pile with battering engines, and hurled large stones against the walls, yet Black Agnes was undaunted, and in scorn ordered her female attendants to wipe off the dust with their napkins. She beheld with indifference the "sow"—an enormous machine of timber, the ridge of the wooden shed or covering of which resembled a hog's back, and in derision advised Salisbury in a kind of rhyme—"Beware, Montagow, for farrow shall thy sow." An immense stone was dropped from the walls on this machine, which was crushed to pieces. As the English fled to escape from the stones and arrows, Black Agnes called out—"Behold the litter of English pigs." An arrow killed an English knight near Salisbury, who exclaimed—"That is one of my lady's love-tokens; Black Agnes' love-shafts pierce to the heart."

¹ Sir James Balfour (*Annals of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 83) accuses Seward, whom he designates a "base and villanous wretch," of treacherously betraying Dunbar Castle to Edward I. Lord Hailes says—"This charge is manifestly unjust. Seward had agreed to surrender the Castle if it was not relieved within three days, and it was not relieved."—*Annals of Scotland*, 4to, vol. i. p. 239.

² According to Sir James Balfour, the Earls of Ross and Menteith were "taken, and instantly killed, contraire the tyrant's faith given." The reverse was the fact. The Earl of Ross was sent a prisoner to

London, and Edward I. ordered John de Warrenne, Earl of Surrey, his governor of Scotland, to allot to the Countess "one hundred pounds of land" for her support. As to the Earl of Menteith, it is asserted by Trivet and Walsingham that he was released from confinement by engaging to serve Edward I. in his foreign wars. Lord Hailes says—"It is generally believed, without sufficient evidence, that Edward put the Earl of Menteith to death."—*Annals*, vol. i. p. 239.

The resistance of the garrison was so determined and indomitable, that Salisbury resolved to obtain possession of the Fortress by stratagem. He offered a considerable sum to the keeper of the principal entrance, if he would leave the gate in such a manner as to allow easy access to the besiegers. The money was accepted, and it was agreed that a small party were to be admitted. The Countess was informed by the warden of this bribery, and exulted at the design. At the time appointed the gate was found open, and the Earl was about to enter, when Copeland, one of his officers, hastily preceded him. The portcullis immediately fell, and Copeland, mistaken for his commander, was a prisoner. Black Agnes witnessed the affair from the battlements, and addressing the Earl by his family name, jeeringly shouted—"Farewell, Montague. I intended that you should have supped with us to-night, and assisted us in defending the Castle against the English."

Salisbury now turned the siege into a blockade, and prepared to starve the garrison into a surrender. Ramsay of Dalhousie resolved to achieve their deliverance. He contrived to elude the vigilance of the English, and entered the Fortress by a postern, the ruins of which are still visible. Instantly sallying out, he attacked the advanced guards of the English, whom he drove to their camp. Disheartened by this exploit, and at the length of the siege, the English commander, on the 10th of June, agreed to a cessation of arms, and withdrew his forces, leaving the heroic Black Agnes in possession of the Castle.

George, eleventh Earl of Dunbar and March, his grandson, was most unjustly deprived of his titles and estates on the 10th of January, 1434-5, and the Castle was seized by the Crown. Hepburn of Hailes was appointed constable, one of the ancestors of the Earls of Bothwell, who rose to power and influence on the ruin of the ancient Earls of Dunbar and March. The Castle and estates for a time after the deprivation of the last Earl were held by the Duke of Albany, and latterly changed possessors, though always considered the property of the Crown. Jane Seymour, the Queen-Dowager of the murdered James I., died in the Fortress in 1446, and was interred at Perth. The Duke of Albany landed at Dunbar Castle after his escape from Edinburgh Castle in 1475, and thence sailed to France. He returned and regained possession of the Fortress, which he was compelled to leave in 1483, and the English garrison surrendered to James III. in 1486. On the 17th of October, 1488, the Castle was ordered to be destroyed from the foundation, and never to be rebuilt, because it had occasioned "great skaith in time bygane," and it would be dangerous to the realm if it were "negligently kept or reparit again."¹ This was not enforced till nearly a century afterwards.

Dunbar is painfully associated with the career of Queen Mary. The Earls of Bothwell appear to have acted as constables, and on the 19th of April, 1567, the notorious Earl obtained a "ratification" of the "Queen's Castle and Strength" and the "Captancie" of Dunbar.² This was a legal infetment which Bothwell, who was rapidly advancing in the Queen's favour, obtained for his insidious services. In 1566, after the murder of Rizzio, Bothwell assisted in Mary's escape from Holyrood-house, and after a brief sojourn at Seton she retired to Dunbar Castle. The Queen was again at the Fortress in November of that year, and was an inmate six days. On two subsequent occasions Mary was resident in Dunbar Castle, before her paramour fled to elude the merited punishment of his crimes. On the 21st of September, 1567, the Regent Moray sent four companies of soldiers to secure the Fortress, which was surrendered on the 1st of October, and was ordered to be demolished in terms of the Act in 1488. The artillery was removed to Edinburgh, and the destruction was most efficiently performed.³

The present ruins of Dunbar Castle convey no idea of a pile which was long considered impregnable. The fragments occupy a projecting reef of trap rocks, rising like bastions thrown up to protect the remnants of feudal power from the sea, which penetrates through rugged caverns, fissures, and arches, with a fearful noise in violent storms. The main portion of the ruins measures about one hundred and sixty-five feet from east to west, and in some parts upwards of two hundred feet from north to south. The south tower, supposed to have been the keep or citadel, is on a detached perpendicular rock seventy-two feet high, accessible only on one side, and connected with the fragments by a passage measuring sixty-nine feet. The interior is of octagonal form, fifty-four by sixty feet, and five of the "arrow holes" remain. The

¹ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 211.

² Ibid. p. 550. In the earlier part of that century Dunbar Castle was occasionally a state prison.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 81. Previous to 1561 the Fortress was often garrisoned by French auxiliaries, and by the English, and was in 1559 the

retreat for security from the violence of the Reforming party, of the Queen Regent Mary of Guise, accompanied by D'Oisel and a number of French soldiers.—Sir James Balfour's Annals, vol. i. p. 317.

³ Sir James Balfour's Annals of Scotland, vol. i. p. 341.

other ruins are arched, and extend eight feet from the outer walls fronting an open court-yard. Near the centre of the Fortress is a gateway, above which are the armorial bearings of the eleventh Earl of Dunbar. When entire the towers had communication with the sea. North-east of the front is a large natural cave of black and red stone, supposed to have been a dungeon. It is accessible by a rocky inlet from the shore on the west, and may have been the postern by which Sir Alexander Ramsay entered to relieve Black Agnes in 1338. This cavern was a secure refuge for the boats belonging to the Fortress. In the north-west part of the ruins is a chamber, probably twelve feet square, which tradition connects with Queen Mary.



FAST CASTLE, FROM THE SEA.
From an Original Drawing by H. B. Wright

JOHN G. MURDOCH. LONDON

CHAPTER III.

THE BORDER COUNTIES.

FASTCASTLE.

THE coast of Berwickshire, which includes the districts of the Merse, Lauderdale, and Lammermuir, displays bold, rugged, and perpendicular precipices of considerable height, and is almost inaccessible, except at Eyemouth and Coldingham Bay, and a few other places, where a sandy level beach occurs among rocks, forming creeks available to fishing-boats, and formerly the haunts of smugglers. Every mariner of the German Ocean knows the conspicuous promontory of St. Abb's Head, a huge isolated mass of trap rock, rising precipitously to nearly three hundred feet above the tide, and traditionally deriving its name from Ebba, the daughter of Ethelfred, the Saxon King of Northumberland in the ninth century, who was shipwrecked on the coast, and erected a chapel on this headland in gratitude for her preservation. Three miles north-west is Fastcastle, on the verge of a stupendous peninsulated rock overlooking the ocean—a memorial of feudal ages, inaccessible on all sides, except by a narrow path only a few feet wide, and on each side defended by precipices. This part of the coast forms the parochial district of Coldingham, which abounds with interesting memorials of antiquity.¹

Fastcastle is approached by the narrow path or neck of land already mentioned, which is cut down almost to the level of the sea. Over this deep excavation was thrown a drawbridge, rendering the peninsular rock on which the ruins are perched apparently impregnable. The date of the erection is not mentioned, and it is simply stated that Fastcastle was a fortress belonging to the family of Home. Sir Alexander Home of that Ilk, father of the first Lord Home, obtained a charter of the bailiary of Coldingham, in which it is situated, in 1442. The stronghold had been long previously erected, and in 1410 was garrisoned by an English party under an officer named Thomas Holden, who had for a considerable time infested the interior by their depredations, which induced Sir Patrick Dunbar of Beil, a son of George, tenth Earl of Dunbar and March, to attempt their expulsion with one hundred followers. He was successful, and captured the governor. In 1503 the Princess Margaret of England first halted at Fastcastle in her progress from the English Border to Edinburgh, to become the consort of James IV. The English, after the battle of Pinkie, in 1547, took Fastcastle, and left a garrison, who were expelled by stratagem in 1548.² The then captain or governor had ordered the peasantry to supply him with provisions on a certain day. They were punctual at the time appointed, and removing the stores from their horses, proceeded with them on their shoulders.

¹ These antiquities are detailed in the "History of Coldingham Priory, by Alexander Allan Carr," 8vo. Berwick, 1836.

² Memoirs of the Reign of Mary Queen of Scots, by Lord Herries, 4to. printed for the ABBOTSFORD CLUB, pp. 21, 24.

They were allowed to pass the drawbridge, when they laid down the provisions, and suddenly attacked the keepers, whom they killed. Hastily approaching the stronghold, they obtained possession before the garrison could be assembled, and were soon reinforced by others from without, who were familiar with the design. In 1567, Sir Nicolas Throgmorton described Fastcastle as "fitter to lodge prisoners than folks at liberty."

Fastcastle was considered so strong in 1570, by its situation, that Sir William Drury sent 2000 men to invest the Fortress, which was then garrisoned by only ten persons. This movement was to punish Alexander, fifth Lord Home, who had joined the supporters of Queen Mary in 1569, and whose residence at Home Castle had been secured before they advanced to Fastcastle, the "next principal place" belonging to him. Lord Home was not, however, the proprietor. Sir Patrick Home or Hume, of Fastcastle, married Elizabeth, second daughter of Sir Niel Montgomery of Lainshaw, third son of Hugh, first Earl of Eglinton. Two daughters, named Elizabeth and Alison, were the issue, and the former married Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig before 1536. In a justiciary trial, which occurred that year, the sisters are designated the heiresses of Fastcastle, and as their husbands appeared for their own interest, it is evident that their father was not alive.¹

The marriage of Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig to Elizabeth Home of Fastcastle explains the manner in which the stronghold was the property of Robert Logan of Restalrig, who was intimately connected with the celebrated Govrie Conspiracy. That unprincipled person was the representative of an ancient family who had long been superiors of the town of Leith, and who possessed valuable estates in the immediate vicinity, the greatest part of which he had squandered by his dissolute habits. He was still proprietor of Fastcastle, which was of the utmost importance to him, as it was then one of the most impregnable places in the kingdom, and capable of defence successfully by a very few desperate men, who could only be compelled to surrender by famine. Logan resided occasionally in a more convenient tenement in the vicinity, reserving Fastcastle for his desperate emergencies. The turbulent Francis, Earl of Bothwell, was always certain of a safe retreat in the stronghold, when keenly pursued by the King's troops or the officers of justice, and was much encouraged by Logan in all his dangerous enterprises. About 1594, while he was sheltering Bothwell in defiance of James VI. and the Privy Council, his pecuniary circumstances were in such a condition that he often ordered some villains in his service to assault and rob, and, if necessary, to murder any one whom they met in possession of money or goods. Those hirelings of an infamous master lurked in the vicinity of Fastcastle, and attacked all from whom they expected to obtain plunder, carrying their nefarious gains to Logan, while he contrived not to appear as connected with them. On the 13th of July, 1594, Logan was denounced a rebel, and outlawed for not appearing before the King and Privy Council to answer a charge at the instance of Robert Gray, burgess of Edinburgh, who, in a journey to Berwick on the 2d of April, was robbed by two of his servants of 950*l.*, and "maist cruellie and barbarouslie invadit and pursewit of his lyfe, hurt and woundit in the heid," and otherwise savagely maltreated.²

Francis, Earl of Bothwell, was addicted to necromancy, which was the common belief of the times; and it is previously stated, that while James VI. was returning with his Queen from Denmark he trafficked with witches to raise a storm and drown the King. Bothwell was encouraged in his propensities to magic by Logan, who pretended or believed that a considerable treasure was concealed in the "dom-daniel," or principal tower of Fastcastle, every attempt to discover which by mattock and spade had been unsuccessful, and the buried treasure could only be obtained by the exercise of the "Black Art." The Earl, to whom the imputation of sorcery was alleged wherever he went, of course failed to discover the hidden gold and silver, and Logan resolved to apply to higher authority to conduct the search. This was the celebrated John Napier of Merchiston, the inventor of Logarithms, who was thoroughly imbued with astrology, alchymy, and the most enthusiastic notions on the occult recesses and properties of the precious metals. Only a month after his outlawry in 1594, for the robbery committed by his two servants, for whose conduct he was responsible, Logan entered into a contract with Napier, the original of which is still preserved in the hand-writing of the

¹ On the 16th of October, 1536, three persons were criminally prosecuted for "oppression done" to Elizabeth and Alison Hume, heiresses of Fastcastle, and to their husbands Sir Robert Logan of Restalrig and Sir Walter Ogilvie of Dunlugus, by wantonly filling up a mill-dam in the adjoining parish of Hutton, and committing other

aggressions.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. p. 179. In this curious Work numerous instances are produced of the lawless state of the Border Counties.

² Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part II. pp. 335, 336.



TATTERSALL ABBEY

From a Watercolor Drawing by J. Doltman

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

latter, with the exception of Logan's signature, setting forth that as divers old reports existed that a "soun of monie and poiss," or "pose," was concealed within the "Place" of Fastcastle, which had hitherto escaped the most diligent search, Napier was to "do his utter and exact diligence to search and seek out, and by all craft and knowledge either find the same, or make it sure that no such thing has been there." Napier's reward was to be the third part of the recovered treasure, which was to be paid by "just weight and balance," and if no "pose" was found, his remuneration for his trouble was left solely to the generosity of Logan. Aware, however, of the character of his employer, the philosopher carefully stipulated in the contract for a safe-conduct when he returned with his "third" of the treasure to Merchiston, lest he should be robbed by Logan's own domestics, or injured in person by their violence.¹

It is needless to observe that no treasure was discovered, and Napier obtained no payment for the exercise of his "art." It is not certain that he proceeded to the wild and dreary stronghold of Fastcastle, to associate for a time with the wild Earl of Bothwell and the dissolute Logan of Restalrig, and it is supposed that the conditions were not fulfilled. The philosopher probably suspected that he would be plundered or cheated by the outlawed Logan, whose acquaintance he abjured, and in a lease which he granted of certain lands in 1596 he expressly stipulated that no person of the name of Logan should be allowed to be a tenant.

Logan next engaged with the Earl of Gowrie in the conspiracy in 1600 to seize James VI., and seclude him from assistance and intercourse in the dungeons of Fastcastle. The first scene in that celebrated plot refers to Logan's craving for money, either by supernatural or sinister methods. The entire organisation of the Gowrie Conspiracy can be traced to Logan under his own hand; and in a letter to the Earl of Gowrie, dated in July 1600, he alludes to the plans he had projected to convey the Earl and all his associates by sea to Fastcastle, and specially requests Gowrie to visit before harvest his stronghold, in which he had protected Bothwell in his greatest extremities in defiance of the King and Council. It was proposed to force James VI. into a boat in readiness at the bottom of the garden of Gowrie House at Perth, and thence conduct him by sea to Fastcastle, in which he was to await the disposal of Queen Elizabeth or of the conspirators. Logan's connexion with this daring plot was not known till nine years after his death, when the correspondence between him and the Earl of Gowrie was discovered in the possession of George Sprott, a notary at Eyemouth, who had stolen the documents from Logan's confidential servant, John Bour, who figures as "Laird Bour," to whom the letters had been entrusted. Sprott was tried and executed. Logan was condemned for high treason, and his bones were brought into the Justiciary Court for that purpose.

The ruins of Fastcastle consist of a tower surrounded by flanking walls, which render the pile a prominent object either from sea or land, and contain no architectural decorations. These ruins are often visited by strangers, both on their "own account, and for the splendid view from the hill immediately above, which presents the boundless extent of the German Ocean, the fertile shores of Fife and the Lothians, the distant hills of Stirling and Perth shires, the numerous vessels passing and repassing, the rugged shores and towering rock of St. Abb's Head—all forming a scene so vast and diversified—so near and so remote—that the imagination can add nothing to its splendour."²

DRYBURGH ABBEY.

In the parish of Mertoun, which is the south-west part of the county of Berwick, and nearly four miles from Melrose, are the venerable ruins of Dryburgh Abbey, on the north side of the Tweed, in a verdant sequestered plain, almost encircled by one of the finest windings of the river. The ruins are so densely obscured by trees and shrubs, and the foliage of wood and plantations, that it is difficult to ascertain the original dimensions or extent of the Abbey. It is stated by a competent authority, in reference to the fragments of Dryburgh—"Everywhere you behold the usurpation of nature over art. In one roofless apartment a fine spruce and holly are flourishing in the rubbish; in others the walls are completely covered with ivy; even on

¹ Memoirs of John Napier of Merchiston, by Mark Napier, Esq. 4to. pp. 220, 221.

² New Statistical Account of Scotland—Berwickshire, p. 285.

the top of some of the arches trees have sprung up to a considerable growth, and these, clustering with the aspiring pinnacles, add character to the Gothic pile. These aged trees on the summits of the walls are the surest records of the antiquity of its destruction."¹ Thus situated amid river, rock, and mountain scenery, and the lawn in front environed by fruit and forest trees, the aspect of the ruins is impressive, the reddish walls mingling with the foliage, and not impaired, like the Abbeys of Kelso and Jedburgh, by the vicinity of common dwellings.

Dryburgh, as the name is assumed to imply, signifying the "sacred grove of oaks," or the "settlement of the Druids," is the alleged scene of Pagan rites, and some vestiges have been discovered on an adjacent mound known as the Bass Hill, on which David eleventh Earl of Buchan placed an outrageous colossal statue of Sir William Wallace. The locality, peculiarly inviting to religious seclusion, was in the sixth century the domicile of a community of Christian missionaries, and one of them, named Modan, revered after his death as a saint, was elected their superior, A.D. 522. This early settlement, the origin of which is obscure, is supposed to have been destroyed by Saxon invaders, who landed in Yorkshire about A.P. 547. The erection of Dryburgh Abbey, of which the present ruins are the remains, though fragments of an earlier style of architecture are evident, was commenced in 1150 on the site of the first locality. David I. is the reputed founder, but Hugh de Morville, Lord of Lauderdale, and his wife Beatrix Beauchamp, were the real benefactors. It is probable that David I. in his charter, in which he asserts that he was the founder, merely so designates himself as sanctioning the pious donation.² Of this Hugh de Morville, the ancestor of an extinct family, whose uncle was one of the murderers of Thomas à Becket in Canterbury Cathedral, it is stated that he came from Burg in Cumberland, and that he secured the favour of David I., who encouraged persons of rank and enterprise to settle in Scotland, and appointed him Lord High Constable—an office which descended hereditarily through a succession of male and female heirs.³ He died in 1162, and was succeeded in his office and extensive territorial property by his son Richard de Morville, who married Avicia de Lancaster, a zealous patroness of the monks of Melrose. Their son William died, apparently without issue, in 1169, and their daughter Helena married Roland, Lord of Galloway, transferring the wealth and feudatories of her ancestors to that family.⁴

The monks of Dryburgh were of the Premonstratensian Order, commonly designated White Canons from their dress. They were a colony from the Abbey of Alnwick, and were invited into Scotland by David I. Dryburgh Abbey, dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, was founded on St. Martin's Day, or the 10th of November, 1150, and at the same time the cemetery was consecrated, to prevent the "intrusion or haunting of demons." The Abbey was first occupied by the monks on the 13th of December, 1152, when a portion of the buildings was completed. A succession of twenty-four Abbots, from Roger, elected on the 13th of December, 1152, to David Finlayson in 1509, is recorded.⁵ It appears, however, that Andrew Liddesdale was the last actual Abbot, and that Finlayson, who was canon-regular of Dryburgh and rector of Gulane, was merely titular. After his decease or resignation his successors were designated Commendators. The first was Andrew Forman, a noted pluralist in his day, successively Bishop of Moray and Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was appointed about 1512, and retained the office till 1515. The next was James Ogilvie, canon of Aberdeen, who obtained the Commendatorship as a recompense for the loss of that See, to which he was nominated by the Regent Arran.⁶ The third was David Hamilton, Bishop of Argyll, an illegitimate brother of the Regent Arran. He was Commendator on the 4th of December, 1522, and either died or resigned in less than a year from that date.

In the midst of the destructive warfare perpetrated by the Earl of Surrey on the Borders, the benefice of Dryburgh was granted to the Earl of Lennox, who appointed James Stewart, canon of Glasgow, to be Commendator under him. Stewart was soon involved in a quarrel with the Haliburtons, neighbours and tenants of the Abbey, which was terminated for a time by the marriage of his daughter to Walter, eldest son

¹ Description of the Ruins of Dryburgh Abbey, in Morton's "Monastic Annals of Teviotdale," 4to. p. 322.

² David I. records of himself in the charter, "*Ecclesiæ Sanctæ Mariæ de Dryburghe quam fundavi.*" Lord Hailes assumes that he merely laid the foundation stone, as his father Malcolm III. did of Durham Cathedral.—Annals of Scotland, 4to. vol. i. p. 97. The charter is confirmed by Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, Gregory, Bishop of Dunkeld, and Andrew, Bishop of Caithness.—"*Carta Foundationis Davidis I. Regis,*" from Sir James Balfour's volume of Transcripts preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at

Edinburgh, and inserted in "*Liber S. Mariæ de Dryburgh,*" 4to. 1847, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, p. lxi.

³ Beatson's Political Index, vol. iii. p. 126.

⁴ Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. i. pp. 503, 504.

⁵ Liber S. Mariæ de Dryburgh, Preface, p. x-xx.; Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, pp. 295-298.

⁶ Ogilvie, who was a son of Ogilvie of Boyne, and Rector of Kinkell, is designated "my Lord Dryburgh" on the 12th of September, 1515, and "Commendator" on the 2d of August, 1517. He died at Paris on the 30th of May, 1518.

of David Haliburton of Mertoun, in 1536.¹ On the 27th of June, 1537, the Commendator Stewart signed a declaration in favour of Walter Haliburton and his spouse in reference to the lands of Nether Shielfield, and on the 3d of September, 1538, his father obtained a charter of certain lands, which was subscribed by "Abbot James, the Sub-Prior, and fifteen Canons of the Abbey."² The offspring of the above marriage was an only daughter named Elizabeth, and as she was her father's heiress, the Haliburtons resolved to secure the property by marrying her to one of her cousins, which was prevented by the Commendator, who united her to Alexander Erskine, his own relation, a brother of Erskine of Balgony, from which alliance descended the Erskines of Shielfield, of whom, it is curious to know, were Ebenezer and Ralph Erskine, the celebrated founders of the first Secession from the Presbyterian Establishment in 1733. The Commendator's superintendence of the matrimonial affairs of his family revived the feud with the Haliburtons, which only terminated with the dissolution of the Abbey.

Thomas Erskine was the fifth Commendator in 1541, and the benefice was possessed by his relatives almost without interruption until the absolute grant of it in 1604, as part of the temporal lordship of Cardross, to John, seventh Earl of Mar, of the family of Erskine, and first Lord Cardross. This Commendator Erskine received a foraying visit from the English in November 1544, when they pillaged and burnt the Abbey, with the exception of the church. They admit that they "found great substance of corn, and got very much spoilage and insight geir, and brought away one hundred nolt, sixty nags, and one hundred sheep."³ The valiant Commendator retaliated in 1545 by an inroad across the English Border, burning the village of Horncliffe in Northumberland, and committing similar ravages in other localities, from which he was expelled by the garrisons of Berwick and Norham, assisted by the inhabitants. The Abbey never recovered this assault, and the residences of the Canons were only partially rebuilt.

John was Commendator in 1554, but whether his surname was Stewart or Erskine is uncertain. The Earl of Buchan, describing Dryburgh in a letter dated 1791, says—"Of this Abbey my noble and truly excellent ancestor John Erskine,⁴ afterwards Regent of Scotland, was Commendator during the lifetime of his elder brothers Robert and Thomas."⁵ In opposition to the Earl of Buchan's statement it is asserted that the name of the Commendator was Stewart—that he was the cousin of the unfortunate Lord Darnley—and that "his armorial bearings are on the walls of the Abbey above the private entrance into the cloisters of the monks who had overstayed their time."⁶ As none of the charters granted by the Commendator John contain his family name, and as he is also erroneously designated the uncle of Lord Darnley,⁷ and brother of his father Matthew Earl of Lennox, the presumption is that he was of the Erskine family, and that the Earl of Buchan's statement is correct. David Erskine, Commendator of Inchmahome, illegitimate son of Robert, Master of Erskine, was Commendator of Dryburgh in September 1559, when he granted a charter in favour of Alexander Erskine and Elizabeth Haliburton his spouse, with consent of the Convent.⁸

¹ "Instrument of Declaration by James Stewart, Abbot of Dryburgh, in favour of Walter Haliburton and Agnes Stewart his spouse, relative to the lands of Nether Shielfield, dated 27th June, 1537."—*Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh*, p. 279. In the "*Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*" (p. 301) this lady is erroneously designated Elizabeth. The Haliburtons had been long connected with Dryburgh Abbey. A document is in possession of Lord Polwarth in Mertoun House, which is a "tack" or lease by Walter, Abbot of Dryburgh, to a "worshipful squear, William Haliburton of Mertoun, and Jonet his spouse, of the plew-lands of Butchercoits," dated at Dryburgh, 16th November, 1465.—*Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh*, p. 278. In 1535, when the claims of the Haliburtons were for a time adjusted by the arbitration of James V., who decided that they should possess the disputed lands, they were enjoined to be "good servants to the Abbot, likeas they and their predecessors were to him and his predecessors, and he a good master to them."

² Their names are Andrew Conelson, Sub-Prior, Andrew Purves, George Haliburton, Patrick Purves, John Rutherford, Andrew Crossnop, John Turnbull, John Chatto, John Balcaske, George Paterson, William Wilson, Stephen Ballantyne, Kentigern or Mungo Wilson, John Simson, Robert Mill, James Jameson. In 1546 George Haliburton was the Sub-Prior, and in 1554 and 1562 Robert Anderson. In 1581 only three of the above-mentioned Canons were alive—Kentigern or Mungo Wilson, Robert Mill, and James Jameson.—*Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh*, pp. 286, 289, 291, 302, 316.

³ Cotton MSS. quoted in Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 301. The leaders of this "raid" were Sir George Bowes, Sir Brian Layton, Harry Ewry, John Carr, Captain of Wark, Thomas Beaumont, George Sowly, and Launcelot Carleton. Their "companies" consisted of seven hundred men, by whom they assailed the peaceful Commendator and the secluded Canons. Dryburgh is described as a "pretty town, and well builded." The "town" has disappeared.

⁴ John fifth Lord Erskine, and sixth Earl of Mar of the surname of Erskine. This was Regent Mar, who succeeded the Earl of Lennox in that office, and was the third son of John fourth Lord. He died at Stirling on the 29th of October, 1572, broken-hearted by the factious and unprincipled conduct of his opponents. Robert, Master of Erskine, the eldest son, had an illegitimate son, who was Commendator of Dryburgh in 1580.

⁵ Robert, the eldest brother, fell at the battle of Pinkie in 1547, and Thomas, the next brother, died in 1551, from which it is assumed that the Regent Mar was acting as Commendator at those dates.

⁶ *Annals and Antiquities of Dryburgh Abbey*, by Sir David Erskine of Dryburgh, 1828, p. 27. The armorial bearings, however, may be those of the Commendator Stewart, whose daughter married Walter Haliburton of Mertoun.

⁷ Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 302.

⁸ The Members of Dryburgh Abbey who subscribed this charter with the Commendator in 1559, were—Robert Anderson, Sub-Prior, Patrick Purves, John Rutherford, John Chatto, Andrew Corsnop,

At the Reformation, the Abbey, like other religious houses, was annexed to the Crown, with a life-rent reservation in favour of the Commendator David Erskine and other possessors of the residences and precincts. Erskine, who was an adherent of the Regent Moray, and an enemy of Queen Mary, is represented as "an exceeding modest, honest, shame-faced," or diffident man, and was one of the "friends of the House of Erskine" mentioned in the Act of Parliament in 1572, appointing the Earl of Mar to be the custodier of James VI. He was connected with the "Raid of Ruthven," for which he was found guilty of high treason, and his estates were confiscated, with those of his associates, on the 21st of August, 1584. The Commendator retired for safety to Berwick.¹ While he was in exile a person named William is mentioned as Commendator.² His tenure was brief, as in December, 1584, the sentence against the Earl of Mar and his friends was reversed, and they were restored to their honours, offices, and estates. David Erskine resumed his office of Commendator, and in 1600 granted a lease for nineteen years of the teinds of the "Mains" of Mertoun in favour of Ralph Erskine.³ The document is signed by himself at Cardross, witnessed by four of his "servitours," and the reason for granting it without the usual "consent of the Convent" is, that "all the Convent are now deceased."⁴ The Convent was extinct, and the Commendator was far advanced in life. The erection of the temporal lordship and barony of Cardross, which included Dryburgh Abbey, in favour of John seventh Earl of Mar, in 1604, reserved to the Commendator all the rents and emoluments, and he continued to grant leases of the teinds of the benefice. One of his last official acts was a "tack," signed individually as "David Commendator of Dryburgh," to Robert Home of Carolside for nineteen years, of teinds in Lauderdale, dated 30th May, 1608, about fifty years after the first lease signed by him, and it is "with consent of the Convent"—a declaration refuting his deliberate statement in his lease dated 1600, that the said convent "were all deceased." The grant of this lease was followed by the demission of the Commendator, after possessing the benefice fifty years. On the next day it is stated that the Commendator had resigned in favour of his kinsman Henry Erskine, second son of John, seventh Earl of Mar, by his Countess Lady Mary Stuart, second daughter of Esme first Duke of Lennox. David Erskine, the last representative of the Premonstratensian Canons of Dryburgh, died on the 28th of May, 1611, and his widow, Margaret Haldane, designated Lady Dryburgh, on the 13th of January, 1618. It is presumed that a son, the apparent heir in 1560, predeceased his parents, which may explain the demission of the aged Commendator in favour of the son of the Earl of Mar. On the 31st of May, 1608, King James granted a "Deed of Provision" to Henry Erskine, constituting him for life "undoubted" Commendator of Dryburgh and Prior of Inchmahome, with a vote in Parliament. His brother Alexander at the same time obtained the Abbey of Cambuskenneth near Stirling, and this titular "Abbot" was also a colonel.

It is impossible, in this limited narrative, to detail minutely the ingenious contrivances by which the Erskines obtained possession of Dryburgh Abbey. Their legal proceedings, which had no reference to the public advantage, are instances of the most flagrant selfishness, and of the personal "favouritism" of the monarch. The King, on the 27th of March, 1604, had erected the Abbeys of Dryburgh and Cambuskenneth, and the Priory of Inchmahome, into the lordship and barony of Cardross, in favour of the Earl of Mar, the father of Henry Erskine, that the Earl "might the better provide for his younger sons whom he had by the Lady Mary Stuart, of whom the King took great care." The Earl resigned the title of Lord Cardross to his son Henry Erskine, who was styled "Fiar of Cardross," in a crown charter dated 29th March, 1628, and to his heirs male, reserving his own life-rent. This first Lord Cardross died in that year, and his son David succeeded as second Lord at the death of his grandfather the Earl in 1634. Henry, third Lord, sold the portion of the Barony of Cardross, known as the Abbacy of Dryburgh, to Sir Patrick Scott, younger, of Ancrum, in 1682, and this included the ruins of the Abbey. Sir Patrick Scott sold his purchase in 1700 to Thomas Haliburton of New Mains, Advocate, whose ancestor in 1572 erected the mansion now designated Dryburgh Abbey on a feu from the Convent in 1560, and which he repaired and altered in 1682. Robert Haliburton, the grand-uncle of Sir Walter Scott, who writes bitterly of him as a "weak silly man, who engaged in trade, for which

Kentigern or Mungo Wilson, John Simson, Robert Mill, James Jameson, William Wilson. Those unfortunate persons appear to have been completely under the control of the Haliburtons, yet their official signatures were necessary.

¹ Autobiography and Diary of James Melvill, printed for the Wodrow Society, 8vo. 1842, p. 197.

² Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. iii. p. 381.

The annua. payment was to be 48*l.*, "guid and usual money of this realm."

⁴ Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh, p. 316. They were reduced to three in 1581, and were Kentigern or Mungo Wilson, Robert Mill, and James Jameson; and as they signed a lease granted by the Commendator James Stewart in 1537, they must have been very aged men at their decease.

he had neither stock nor talents, and became bankrupt," having no male heirs, sold the estate of Dryburgh in 1767 to Lieutenant-Colonel Charles Tod, of the East India Company's service, for 5500*l.*,—not merely 3000*l.*, as stated by Sir Walter Scott. The estate was sold by Colonel Tod's trustees to David, sixth Earl of Buchan of the family of Erskine, who thus acquired the property of his ancestors.¹ The Earl entailed the estate in 1810, and his illegitimate son David, created a knight of the Guelphic Order by William IV., succeeded at his death in 1829. This gentleman died without issue in 1837.² Henry David, nephew and successor of Earl David as seventh Earl of Buchan, then became proprietor.³

The possessions of the Canons of Dryburgh Abbey were extensive. In addition to the chapels, tithes, offerings, and other grants enumerated in the foundation charter of David I., the Canons possessed churches, pasturages for cattle and sheep, and estates in the counties of Berwick, Roxburgh, Haddington, Selkirk, Dumfries, Lanark, Wigton, Kirkcudbright, Fife, the town and vicinity of Berwick-on-Tweed, and in other districts, the names of the localities in which cannot now be identified. David I. exempted them from tolls and customs, and granted a right to cut timber from the royal forests. In 1242 David, Bishop of St. Andrews, as a recompense for the hospitality of the Canons, the liabilities they had incurred in the erection of their monastery, and other expenses, allowed to them the revenues of the churches of which they were patrons in his diocese, on the condition that one of their community, approved by himself and his successors, performed in each parish the duties of vicar. In 1561 the revenues of Dryburgh Abbey were estimated at 912*l.* Scots in money, exclusive of payments of agricultural and other produce, but it is impossible to ascertain the real rental.⁴ In the Taxation of the Tithes of Scottish benefices in aid of the Crusades about 1290, the rental is stated to be 2277*l.* The Chartulary contains records of the pecuniary resources of the Abbey, in the sixteenth and following centuries.⁵

The Canons of Dryburgh are not eulogised by the credulous Dempster for their literary attainments. This may have resulted from the rule of their order, which prohibited schools in its monasteries, though one appears to have been in the Abbey, and the lay members were merely required to recite the appointed services. Yet Dempster cannot resist introducing one of the Canons, named Patrick, as a particularly dis-

¹ The Earl of Buchan made the so-called Dryburgh Abbey his usual residence in 1787, and his lordship is entitled to praise for renovating the ruins of the real Abbey and improving the vicinity. The Earl's description of the Abbey is in Grose's "Antiquities of Scotland" (vol. i. pp. 101-109), with two views, the one sketched in 1787, and the other in 1789; and he wrote an account of the Abbey, which is printed in the fourth volume of "The Bee" under the signature of "Albanicus."

² "Sir David was the natural son of the above eccentric Earl of Buchan, who, on his death in 1829, bequeathed to him for life the whole of his unentailed estates, the principal being Dryburgh, which became his permanent residence after the death of the Earl. The Earl of Buchan has succeeded to an income of 1800*l.* per annum, and the romantic domain of Dryburgh, by the demise of his cousin Sir David. The fruit-garden at Dryburgh is one of the most extensive in Scotland, and its produce has been sent to Edinburgh."—Gentleman's Magazine, 1837, vol. viii. p. 652; Annual Register, 1837, p. 213. Sir David Erskine was locally known as the author of some very extravagant and ranting attempts at Tragedies, founded on events in Scottish history. His father, the "eccentric" Earl, erected on a rising ground near the Tweed the circular temple ornamented with statues of the Muses, surmounted by a bust of Thomson, the Poet of "The Seasons," and farther up the bank, in 1814, a colossal red sandstone statue of Sir William Wallace, twenty feet high, sculptured at the expense of the same nobleman, and occupying such an elevated situation, that, in the opinion of Mr. Chambers—"Wallace, frowning towards England, is visible even from Berwick, a distance of more than thirty miles. On a pedestal is a poetical encomium on the 'peerless Knight of Elderslie.'" The Earl also erected a chain or wire suspension bridge over the Tweed in 1818, at a ford near the Abbey. After standing twenty years, a severe storm rendered this bridge a ruin.

³ Dryburgh is partitioned into two estates, with separate mansions to each, situated near the Abbey. This resulted from two of the feus of the lands granted by the Abbot and Convent before the Reformation. The estate and the residence called Dryburgh Abbey, on the south side of the ruins, are the property, as stated above, of the Earl of

Buchan, and this portion includes the ruins and a great part of the church lands. "The other portion of the estate of Dryburgh, with the mansion also adjacent to and on the north side of the ruins of the Abbey, now belongs to Charles Riddell, Esq. The original house, which was called the Mantle House, was built by Alexander Erskine, the founder of the Shielfield family, in 1559, on ground feued from the Commendator. This house was occupied by the Erskines of Shielfield, as their family residence, they being also portioners in Dryburgh, for a period of two hundred and thirty-four years, till the year 1793, when they sold it, along with their lands at Dryburgh, to Mr. Riddell, who pulled it down, and replaced it with the present mansion."—Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh, 4to. 1847, Preface, p. xxxi.

⁴ "Money, 912*l.* 3*s.* 4*d.*; wheat, 2 chalders; bear, 21 chalders, 8 bolls; meal, 25 chalders, 12 bolls; oats, 4 chalders."—Harleian MS. quoted in "Monastic Annals of Teviotdale," p. 311. In 1567 an order was issued, enjoining the third of the revenues of all benefices to be paid for the maintenance of the Protestant ministers, and the third part of Dryburgh Abbey amounted to 304*l.*; wheat, 10½ bolls; bear, 8 chalders, 2½ bolls; meal, 7 chalders, 10½ bolls; oats, 1 chalders, 5½ bolls. In 1587 the King's third of the Abbey was 266*l.*—Ibid. p. 311. The rental in that year, according to the Earl of Buchan's statement, was 1044*l.* money; and in barley, wheat, oats, and meal, 53 chalders, 5 bolls, 10 firlots, 10½ pecks. The revenue of the Abbey was much dilapidated after the Reformation, yet, considering the value of grain and money, and the lands cultivated by the tenants and servants of the Canons, which consisted of about four hundred acres of the best soil in the kingdom, the annual income would be equal to upwards of 1600*l.* sterling—an ample support for an Abbey which seldom contained fifty monks, though scarcely proportioned to the splendid edifice they inhabited.—Grose's Antiquities of Scotland, 4to. vol. i. p. 107, 108. In the Books of Assignment and Superplus in 1594 the revenue is rated at 914*l.*, and amounting with the payments of agricultural produce to 1044*l.* 16*s.* 8*d.*—Keith's History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland, folio, Appendix, p. 184.

⁵ Liber S. Marie de Dryburgh, pp. 329-365.

tinguished orator, philosopher, and theologian, who was a member of the convent in 1322, when Edward II. in his retreat burnt the Abbey, and who, it is farther alleged, wrote a poem on this devastation, which he addressed to King Robert Bruce and the superiors of religious houses. The acquirements of Canon Patrick are very doubtful, but it is certain that Bruce contributed liberally to the restoration of the Abbey. In that century, however, lived Ralph Strode, the friend of Chaucer, who in his younger years devoted himself to literary pursuits at Dryburgh, and was sent to Oxford at the expense of a successor of Bruce.

The only remains of Dryburgh Abbey are the Chapter-House, St. Modan's Chapel, and the adjoining passages, which are vaulted and entire. The Chapter-House is forty-seven feet long, twenty-three feet broad, and twenty feet in height. At the east end are five Early English Gothic windows, and at the west end is a large circular-headed centre window, with a small one on each side, the interior displaying a series of intersected arches. The ruins exhibit distinct styles of arches, in the massive Roman with its square sides, the Saxon, the Norman, and the Early English Gothic. The Chapter-House and the dwellings of the monks are supposed to have been more ancient than the church, which was in the cross form, and divided into three parts by two colonnaded arches. St. Mary's Aisle, a portion of the north transept, of beautiful Early English Gothic, finely contrasts with the western door of the church, which is a splendid Norman arch. The church, the cloisters, chapter-house, and other apartments, are on different levels. The cloisters form a square, in front of which, near the west door, is a passage into the quadrangle, and into gloomy apartments.

St. Mary's Aisle, on the north transept of Dryburgh Abbey, will ever be hallowed, as containing the remains of Sir Walter Scott, in the family sepulchre of his maternal ancestors the Haliburtons of New Mains. The author of "Marmion" and "Waverley" has recorded his connexion with the Haliburtons by the marriage, in 1728, of Robert Scott of Sandyknowe, his grandfather, to Barbara, third daughter of Thomas Haliburton previously mentioned. After severely reflecting on the improvidence of his grand-uncle, at whose decease without encumbrance of debt the estate would have been inherited by his father, who was inclined to purchase the property, and deploring the loss of this only chance of recovering it, Sir Walter mournfully writes—"And thus we have nothing left of Dryburgh, although my father's maternal inheritance, but the right of stretching our bones, where mine may perhaps be laid before any eye but my own glances over these pages."¹ Such was indeed the fact, and he reposes with his maternal ancestors amid the dust of the once powerful De Morvilles, and the Abbots and Monks, in the vale he loved, and over the history and traditions of which he has thrown an enduring charm. Sir Walter Scott was interred in St. Mary's Aisle of Dryburgh Abbey on the 26th of September, 1832, close to the grave of Lady Scott, whose remains were deposited under his own superintendence in 1826. On the 4th of May, 1847, Colonel Sir Walter Scott, the successor of his father in the now extinct Baronetcy, was entombed beside his parents. Neglect or violence may annihilate Dryburgh and Abbotsford, but the Author of "Waverley" will ever be remembered with enthusiastic veneration.

MELROSE ABBEY.

THE beautiful Vale of Melrose was in remote times the bed of a lake, enclosed by the Eildon Hills on the south, and the Gattonside heights on the north. The Tweed entered this ancient lake through a narrow inlet crossed by the present Melrose Bridge, and debouched at Tweed-wood. After the lake disappeared, the river long traversed the south side of the Vale, on the Gattonside-haugh, which is now on the north side of the river, and this former channel is distinctly traced near the hamlet of Newstead. As the alteration occurred at a comparatively recent period, a strong embankment prevents the river from resuming its former course, and again traversing the verdant meadow called the "Wheel," where a deep pool rendered dangerous by an eddy was noted as having been crossed on one occasion by the famous Graham of Claverhouse, Viscount of Dundee.

Three miles below the present Melrose is a peninsula almost encircled by the Tweed, and the only access is from the south. This peninsula, so to call it, rises to a gentle eminence in the centre, and its

sloping banks remarkably contrast with the opposite side of the river, where the ground is high and rocky, covered with wild shrubs, and protected by woods. The vicinity was anciently a dense forest surrounding this peninsula, or open space of green surface, from which it obtained the name of Mailros.¹

The inviting seclusion of this locality, now known as Old Melrose, and its strong natural defences by the Tweed, attracted a colony of missionary ecclesiastics from the Culdee Monastery of Iona, who in the seventh century selected it as one of their settlements on the Scottish Border. Mailros and Coldingham in Berwickshire were the chief seats of those primitive teachers of religion in the south and east of Scotland, to which, according to the Venerable Bede, they were invited by Oswald, an alleged Anglo-Saxon King of Northumberland, whose dominions extended from the Humber to the Frith of Forth, and who was converted to Christianity while a compulsory resident, occasioned by family misfortunes, among the Scots or Picts. The dates of this movement are variously assigned as occurring in the seventh century, but the origin of this reputed monarch's intercourse with the remote island of St. Columba or Iona is not recorded. The story is based on obscure and uncertain tradition, and it is narrated that Oswald was successful in his pious request. He founded an episcopal see and a monastery on Lindisfarne, now known as Holy Island, on the Northumbrian coast, and Aidan, one of the missionary fraternity, was nominated the first Bishop and Abbot. As Aidan was ignorant of the Saxon language, and could preach only in his native Celtic, King Oswald acted as his interpreter, which proves that the monarch's attainments as a linguist were of some advantage, and twelve Saxon youths were trained by Aidan for the pastoral office, who became his fellow-labourers. Communities of priests or monks were located in various parts of the country to instruct the natives, and one was founded at Old Melrose—the "bare promontory" on the Tweed.

The first Abbot of Old Melrose was Eata, one of the twelve Saxon disciples of Bishop Aidan, and the Prior was Boisil, whose name designates the adjacent parish of St. Boswell's, and who is said to have been peculiarly noted for his sanctity. Aidan died in A.D. 651, about which time the fraternity at Old Melrose were joined by Cuthbert, a young shepherd from the banks of the Leader, which enters the Tweed above Old Melrose, and who was afterwards the renowned St. Cuthbert. It is alleged that this shepherd saw the soul of Bishop Aidan conveyed in glory to heaven by a company of angels, and this miraculous vision induced him to become a member of the community of Old Melrose. He was instructed in his novitiate by St. Boisil, and it is gravely narrated that the copy of the Scriptures used by that devout Prior was long preserved, with other relics of him, uninjured by time, in Durham Cathedral.

St. Cuthbert succeeded his patron St. Boisil as Prior of Old Melrose. This was in accordance with the last request of St. Boisil, who had acted as Abbot while Eata was establishing a monastery at Ripon in Yorkshire, assisted by a colony from the Tweed. The missionaries returned to Old Melrose in A.D. 661, and Eata resumed his office of Abbot. St. Boisil died in A.D. 664, and his successor St. Cuthbert resigned the office of Prior in that year, when he was appointed Prior of Lindisfarne by Eata, who was the Abbot of that monastery, and was evidently a noted pluralist in his own way. Such an illustrious person as St. Cuthbert was not likely to be neglected, and his name designates many parish churches. He appears in the Roman Calendar with St. Boisil, and in the two succeeding centuries other members of Old Melrose obtained the honour of canonization; yet it is a pleasing tradition that this secluded promontory on the Tweed was the scene of the solitude, meditations, and prayers of St. Cuthbert, the youthful shepherd of Leader Water.

It would be tedious in this sketch to narrate the rigid penances and devotions of an enthusiast named Dryethelme, who connected himself with this old Culdee monastery about the time of the death of St. Cuthbert. The motive of his retirement is related by Bede, on the authority of a priest of Melrose named Englis, who alleged that his informant was the redoubtable Dryethelme himself; and that devotee, who sometimes encountered with ferocity those who denied his veracity and ridiculed his disclosures, was apparently fond of telling his own story. The recorded Abbots of Old Melrose are St. Odunald, commemorated on the 26th of June, St. Ethelwald, and his successor St. Thuvuan. The Monastery, which was probably an edifice of wood, was burnt, in A.D. 839, by Kenneth, King of the Scots, who after his conquest of the Picts repeatedly invaded the Saxon territories. The dwellings, however, were restored before A.D. 875,

¹ The name *Mailros* is said to be a compound of *mull* or *moel*, which in Celtic means *bare*, and *ros*, a *promontory*. This appropriately describes the natural grassy verdure of the locality.

when the Monastery was honoured as one of the funeral resting-stations of St. Cuthbert, the removal of which from Lindisfarne was caused by an invasion of the Danes. When the body of the Saint, which was believed to possess the faculty of extraordinary preservation, was again to travel in charge of seven monks of Lindisfarne, those reverend fathers were miraculously relieved for a number of miles. The body, according to the tradition, floated down the Tweed in a "stone" coffin, to the outlet of Till Water, some miles below Coldstream on the Durham side, where it stopped of its own accord. A chapel was built near the spot on which the Saint was landed, and the stone coffin was also preserved as an evidence of this miraculous voyage.

The brethren of Old Melrose refused to acknowledge Malcolm III. as their sovereign, and they were compelled to leave their settlement in 1075. This is the last event connected with the Culdee foundation on the "bare promontory," the alleged "greatness and renown" of which are now traditions. After the disappearance of the Monastery, a chapel dedicated to St. Cuthbert is mentioned as the resort of pilgrims. It was a dependency of the Priory of Coldingham, from which it was detached in 1136 by David I., who granted it to the monastery of his own foundation. This chapel was destroyed by the English in the reign of King Robert Bruce. It was held in such veneration that Symon, Bishop of Galloway, announced an "indulgence" of forty days to all who either visited the site, or contributed to rebuild the fabric "lately burnt by the English." Pope Martin V. in the following century granted to all pilgrims and donors a remission of penance on the Festival of St. Cuthbert, and other specified holidays and observances in Lent, for seven years. The Girthgate was the approach to the chapel, and this ancient road is said to have possessed the privilege of sanctuary. The site of St. Cuthbert's chapel is still remembered as the "Chapel Knoll," and in the Tweed are the "Monks' Ford" and an eddy known as the "Holy Wheel." The Culdee convent was protected on the south by a wall built across the promontory, the foundations of which were visible in 1743.

The magnificent Monastery or Abbey of Melrose, three miles up the Tweed, was founded by David I. in 1136 for Cistercian Monks, at a hamlet then called Fordel, and now Melrose. This little baronial burgh is delightfully situated on the south side of the Tweed, near the base of the Eildon Hills—the Tremontium of the Romans, but in reality one mountain divided into three peaks or summits, which was believed to have been achieved in one night by demons at the command of the renowned wizard Michael Scott. This legend is unfortunate in its origin, as the highest eminence was a military station of the Romans, and a more appropriate position could not have been selected in the Border districts. The view from the summits includes the Vale of the Tweed, and the long mountain range bounding the picturesque scenery on the north to the distant heights of Lammermuir, Soutra, and Yarrow; and on the south is the richly cultivated Teviotdale. The Cheviots stretch towards the west, and in the eastern extremity are seen three small conical eminences, one of which is Flodden.

The site of the devotions of the Abbot Eata, St. Boisil, St. Cuthbert, the recluse Dryethelme, and other devout personages, had been desolate three centuries, and was merely represented by St. Cuthbert's chapel, when, in 1136, exactly five centuries after the foundation of the Culdee convent at Old Melrose, the pious David I. induced a colony of Cistercian Monks from Rievaulx in Yorkshire to settle in Scotland. This was their first appearance in the kingdom; and, not inclined to interfere with St. Cuthbert's chapel and its pilgrims, they selected the village of Fordel, in the vicinity of the Tweed, as the locality of their church and monastery, in the finest part of the Vale between the Eildon and Gattonside Hills, and adopting the designation of the convent of their extinct Culdee predecessors. They commenced the erection of their church in the spring of 1136, and the fabric, dedicated to the Virgin, was consecrated in the summer of 1146.¹ This structure was completely destroyed or made a ruin by Edward II. in 1332, while returning from one of his last invasions, in which the religious houses of the Scottish Borders were most severely injured. Those violent aggressions were retaliated by King Robert Bruce, who sanctioned the rebuilding of the

¹ The date of the foundation of Melrose Abbey is recorded in the monkish distich—

"Anno milleno centeno terquoque deno
Et sexto Christi Melrose fundita fuisti."

In Wynton's "Chronykil," edited by David Macpherson (8vo. 1795,

vol. i. p. 298), under date 1136, the Prior of St. Serf in Lochleven quaintly rhymes—

"A thousand and a hundyr yhere
De sext and threttyd to that clere,
Of the King Dawy's set purpos
Wes fowndyt the Abbey of Melros."

present edifice, and may be considered its second founder. The Abbey was commenced in the era of Gothic architecture, when the Decorated Style supplanted the Early English, and the existing ruin is the most beautiful of all the churches of the Middle-Pointed Style, which prevailed from the end of the thirteenth century to the Reformation. The restoration of Melrose Abbey was the ardent desire of Bruce on his death-bed. In 1326, the year in which the present edifice was commenced, he promoted the erection by granting to the Abbot and Monks all the feudal casualties and crown issues of Teviotdale, until these amounted to 2000*l.*—a sum said now to be equivalent to upwards of 50,000*l.* sterling. The “Good Sir James of Douglas” was appointed steward and warden of this munificent donation; and Bruce, in his sick chamber at Cardross on the Clyde, on the 11th of May, 1329, dictated a letter to his son and successor David II., in which he insists that the grant is to be literally fulfilled, and that “all love, honour, and privilege, be rendered to the Monastery of Melrose.” Bruce died on the 7th of June that year, and his heart, which was reconveyed from Spain in its transit to the Holy Land, was deposited in Melrose Abbey by his nephew Randolph, Earl of Moray.¹ The erection proceeded slowly, and the grant was renewed in 1370 by David II., from which it is evident that little of the Teviotdale donation had been received. The full amount had not been secured in 1399, yet a considerable part of the edifice must have been erected previous to that year, and the expenses derived from other sources.

It is thus apparent that the existing fabric of Melrose Abbey church is of the time of King Robert Bruce, and not of the founder David I., of whose edifice scarcely a vestige can be identified. The Convent had increased in affluence before the death of Bruce.² This is proved by upwards of one hundred charters, from the time of David I. to the decease of the hero of Bannockburn.³ The ancient muniments, preserved in the archives of the Earls of Morton, seem to have been acquired by the Crown at the general annexation of ecclesiastical lands in 1560.⁴ The nobility imitated the example of the monarchs, and ample donations enriched the favoured Monastery of St. Mary.

No authentic account is preserved of the succession of Abbots. The names of the first twenty are recorded in the Chronicle of Melrose, which ends in 1264, and no regular list after that year is preserved.⁵ The first Abbot was Richard, and the last-mentioned in the Chronicle is Patrick of Selkirk. Abbot Richard is alleged to have been a man of piety and learning, yet unpopular for his peculiarities of temper, and his excessive severity of discipline. He was removed in 1148 by William, Abbot of the parent Abbey of Rievaulx, after presiding twelve years. The church of the Monastery, which was ten years in progress of erection, was dedicated on Sunday the 28th of July, 1146.

The second and probably the most famous Abbot of Melrose was Waltheof, or Waldeve, from Rievaulx Abbey, who was elected in 1148. He was the younger son of Simon De St. Litz, Earl of Northampton,

¹ A letter of King Robert Bruce to his son David II. announces that he wished his heart to be deposited in Melrose Abbey. Sir Walter Scott observes, that “the resolution to send it to Palestine, under the charge of Douglas, must have been adopted betwixt the 11th of May, the date of the letter, and the 7th of June of the same year, when Bruce died, or we must suppose that the commission of Douglas extended not only to taking Bruce’s heart to Palestine, but to bring it back to its final place of deposit in Melrose Abbey.”—Notes to “The Abbot.”

² Among the charters allowing certain indulgences to the Monks of Melrose is one granted by Bruce at Aberbrothock on the 10th of January, in the twelfth year of his reign (1318), entitled “Carta de Pittancia Centum Librarum Abbati et Conventui de Melross,” assigning, out of the customs of Berwick, and, failing them, out of the customs of Edinburgh or Haddington, the sum of 100*l.*, payable at the terms of Whit-Sunday and Martinmas, to furnish the monks with a daily mess of rice boiled with milk, almonds, pease, or other pulse, to amend their common fare, to be called the *King’s Mess*. It is declared that should any monk, from some honest apology, want appetite or inclination to eat of the King’s Mess, his share was to be placed on the table with those of his brethren, and afterwards carried to the gate, and distributed to the poor—“neither is it our pleasure that the dinner which is or ought to be served up to the said monks according to their ancient rule, should be diminished in quantity, or rendered inferior in quality, on account of our Mess, so furnished as aforesaid.” The same charter enjoins the Abbot and Monks to clothe fifteen poor men annually at

the Feast of St. Martin in winter, and to feed them on the same day, presenting to each of them four ells of large or broad or six ells of narrow cloth, and to each also a new pair of shoes or sandals; and if the monks fail in these engagements, or any of them, the fault was to be redeemed by a double performance of the omission before the next festival of St. Martin, at the sight of the chief forester of Etterick.”—Sir Walter Scott’s Notes to “The Monastery.”

³ It is appropriately observed—“Of the ancient Register of the great Cistercian House of Melrose only a fragment has been preserved, but to make up for this we have the original charters of the Abbey from the time of St. David downwards, for the most part as fresh as the day they were written, and with the seals of the royal, princely, and noble grantors appended, each enclosed in a little rudely-sewed linen bag, exactly as it was protected in the Treasury of the Abbey.”—Quarterly Review, 1843, vol. lxxii. p. 383. Some interesting details connected with Melrose and many of the cathedral churches and religious houses are also in the Quarterly Review, June 1849.

⁴ Liber Sancte Marie de Melros, 4to. 1837, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, vol. i. Preface, pp. v. vi.

⁵ The “Chronica de Mailros,” printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB in 1835, from the original MS. in the Cottonian Library, commences in A.D. 731, and concludes in 1264. Mr. Stevenson, the editor, alleges that a distinguished rank must be assigned to the Chronicle of Melrose, as illustrating the early history of Scotland, superior to the “Chronicles Sancte Crucis,” or Chronicle of Holyrood at Edinburgh.

whose Countess was Matilda, daughter of Waltheof, Earl of Northumberland. The Lady Matilda, who inherited the Earldom of Huntingdon from her mother Judith, niece of William the Conqueror, married as her second husband David I., the reputed, and not the real founder, then designated Prince of Cumberland. Many extraordinary stories are related by the legendary writers of Abbot Waltheof, who after his death was venerated as a saint, and who was a special favourite of his royal stepfather. His alleged miracles are detailed by Tyna the Cellarer, who is his biographer.¹ It was believed that he supported some thousands of the peasantry three months during a severe famine, by merely pronouncing a benediction on the granaries belonging to the monks at their farms of Eildon and Gattonside. Yet Waltheof, like other great men, was often harassed by personal contests and strivings with his spiritual enemies.² He was elected Bishop of St. Andrews in 1159, and a deputation of the clergy, with some of the principal nobility, repaired to Melrose to conduct him to the seat of the Primacy, but he refused the proffered elevation.³ Waltheof continued Abbot till his death, which occurred on the 1st of August that year.⁴ He was interred at the entrance to the chapter-house, in a spot which he selected, and his obsequies were performed by Herbert, Bishop of Glasgow, assisted by four Abbots, and ecclesiastics of different religious Orders. He is still remembered in the Vale of the Tweed by the rather undignified name of St. Waudie.

The miraculous gifts of Waltheof were exercised after his death, and the Cisterians of Melrose profited by the legends they industriously circulated.⁵ William, the third Abbot, was elected on the 27th of November, 1159, and seems to have discountenanced the miraculous reputation of his predecessor, and thereby incurred the resentment of Joceline the Prior, and the monks, whose accusations of harshness induced him to resign in April 1170. Prior Joceline appears to have been indebted for his election to the zeal with which he defended the beatification of his deceased friend and patron Abbot Waltheof. As Joceline believed that the dead bodies of holy persons, who at their death were immediately admitted into glory, were not liable to decay like those of other individuals, he resolved to ascertain the sanctity of Waltheof. He replaced the former stone covering over the Abbot's grave by polished marble, and invited an assemblage of ecclesiastics to witness the ceremonial of renewing the sepulchre. On the 1st of May, 1171, Ingelram, Bishop of Glasgow, four Abbots, a number of monks, and all the brethren of Melrose, met in the chapter-house. The grave of Waltheof was opened, and though he had been dead twelve years, they were delighted to perceive that the body was as entire as on the day of inhumation. The Abbot, contrary to the rules of the Cisterian Order, had been enclosed in a wax cloth, and this was the only article observed to be completely reduced to dust. After various rites and discussions, it was resolved that

¹ On one occasion, in a season of famine, when the monks, at Waltheof's suggestion, agreed to share their daily allowance of bread with the hungry, the loaves were no sooner cut in two than each half became entire. One day Walter the Hospitaller, whose office was to attend to strangers, placed food before some guests who had arrived, and they had scarcely sat down to the entertainment when another party were ushered into the Refectory. Although the repast was only sufficient for the first comers, yet after all had partaken no diminution was observed, till one of the company directed their attention to this miraculous occurrence in the midst of the repast, and the decrease immediately commenced. Three persons one evening knocked at the Abbey gate, and were admitted to the lodge for the night. After their devotions, they were summoned to supper under the care of Walter, and they had scarcely seated themselves when one of the strangers was missing, who could not be found, yet no person had been observed to depart. This mysterious stranger announced himself in a dream to the Hospitaller to be an angel, who had been appointed to watch over the Monastery, and to inform him that the alms and prayers of the Community, and especially of Abbot Waltheof, were accepted, and ascended into heaven like the odours of sweet incense. On the Eve of the Epiphany, while the Abbot and monks were chanting in the choir, the former had a vision of the Virgin, the infant Saviour, and the Three Kings of Cologne, or Wise Men of the East, preceded by a star, on their way to offer gifts. At early matins on Easter-Day he had a vision of the sufferings, death, and resurrection of Christ.—*Annales Cistercienses*, in Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, pp. 208, 209.

² This was the more extraordinary, as Waltheof was once honoured with a letter from the Virgin, which was delivered to him by an angel,

and announced his decease. The holy Abbot kneeling read the letter, which was thus expressed—"Know that thy prayer is heard, and between the two Feasts of John the Baptist thou shalt come to us to live for ever. Prepare thyself. Farewell."

³ The Abbot of the present Abbey of Rievaulx was on a visit to Melrose when the deputation arrived, and endeavoured to persuade Waltheof to accept the Primacy. The Abbot pointed to the entrance of his chapter-house, and said—"I have put off my coat, and how shall I put it on? I have washed my feet, and how shall I defile them?" This was after he had received the "letter" from heaven, and intimated that he had laid aside all earthly cares to prepare for death.—*Scotichronicon Joannis Forduni*, folio, 1759, vol. i. pp. 340, 341.

⁴ Nicolas, the King's Chancellor, who happened to be at Rome on some business of state, had a vision of Paradise on the day before Waltheof's death, and among other wonders saw the holy Abbot of Melrose conducted to the celestial gate by an angel. A voice within demanded who they were, and the angel replied—"Waltheof of Melrose is here!" "He cannot enter to-day," answered the keeper; "let him come to-morrow, when he shall have put off his earthly toils."

⁵ Walter, a lay brother, who was sick in the hospital, was restored to health by Abbot Waltheof, who appeared to him in a vision, and informed him that he was a partaker of the joys of heaven. Henry, another lay brother, beheld Waltheof, with St. Benedict, and St. Bernard of Clairvaux, carried through the air, each in a splendid litter, and was miraculously told that they were proceeding to Kinloss Abbey, to rescue from persecuting fiends the soul of one of the monks who was to be defunct on the following day. Such are specimens of the curious legends of Old Melrose.



MELROSE ABBEY, FROM THE SOUTH

Engraving by J. G. Murdoch

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

Waltheof's corpse should remain in the same grave until they procured the sanction of the whole Cistercian Order, and a confirmation from the Pope, for its enshrinement in a stately tomb within the Abbey church. Abbot Joceline was elected Bishop of Glasgow in 1174, and his successor was Lawrence, one of the monks, who was elected on the 14th of May, 1175. Joceline founded a house for the entertainment of pilgrims resorting to Melrose at Hassindean on the Teviot. Abbot Lawrence died in 1178, and was succeeded by Ernald, who was installed by Bishop Joceline in 1179. About this time occurred the disputes between the Convent and Richard de Moreville, and the inhabitants of Wedale, or Stow, on the rights of forest and pasture in the district between the Leader and the Gala. The controversy was decided by William the Lion at Haddington in 1180, in favour of the monks.

In the time of Patrick of Selkirk, the last Abbot recorded in the Chronicle of Melrose, the wars of the succession to the Crown were long ruinous to Melrose. In 1291 Edward I., as feudal master of Scotland, granted a letter of protection to this Abbot and the Convent for one year, which he renewed annually till 1296, when John Baliol, acting by the advice of Abbot Patrick, as was alleged, and in concert with others, endeavoured to resist the encroachments of the English monarch. Edward I. in consequence seized all the possessions of the Abbey, which were restored on the 2d of September, after the Abbot had rendered homage to the English King at Berwick. Yet the Monks were not secured from hostile aggressions, though Edward I. had confirmed their charters, with permission to cut down forty oaks in the Forest of Selkirk to repair their farm-houses and cottages which had been burnt and demolished in the war. One event indicates the harassed condition of the Abbey. In 1303, Hugh, afterwards Lord Audley, was lodged in the Convent with sixty men-at-arms. Comyn, the then Regent, forced the gate in the night, and killed several of the English. Sir Thomas Grey fled across the bridge, and obtained shelter in a house, from which he escaped incrimination by surrendering himself.

The Abbot of Melrose in 1310 was William Fogo, who had various transactions in subsequent years with Edward II. for the protection of the Convent. He held the office in 1322, when the fabric founded by David I. was entirely destroyed by the English. Edward II. intended to lodge in the Abbey on his march southward from Edinburgh, and sent three hundred men-at-arms to prepare for his accommodation. Having been informed of the advance of the English, Douglas anticipated them by occupying the Abbey, and when they arrived he rushed out suddenly, killed a great number, and compelled the remainder to fall back on their main army. The signal of their approach was intimated to Douglas by a monk on horseback armed with a spear, and the attack commenced near the wall of the Abbey. Edward II., who was sufficiently irritated by his previous losses and misfortunes, was furious at this assault, which he resented in a most summary manner. William de Peebles, the Prior, was killed in the dormitory, as were also an infirm monk and two lay brothers, and many of the Monks were severely wounded. The Abbey was pillaged, and reduced to a desolate ruin. The silver pix was seized, and the Host in it thrown contemptuously on the high altar by men who believed the efficacy and acknowledged the power of the consecrated materials.

It is probable that the ruins were entirely removed, as every vestige of David I.'s Abbey, the scene of the devotions of Waltheof, has disappeared. In 1326, under the auspices of King Robert Bruce, and assisted by his munificent benefactions, the Monks commenced the present fabric in a style of such magnificence as to impress and delight the beholder, and rank the edifice as one of the most perfect remains of ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland. The church was finished in 1336, in the form of the cross of St. John of Jerusalem. The last repair of Melrose Abbey in its entire state was in the reign of James IV. Thomas of Soltra is the supposed Abbot at the restoration of the edifice in 1336.

Melrose Abbey was seriously dilapidated in 1385 by the English under Richard II., who rested one night in the Convent, and next morning ordered the building to be burnt, to revenge the alleged slaughter of some of his soldiers who remained after his army advanced towards Edinburgh. He made some reparation for this injury in October 1389, by granting to the Monks a reduction of two shillings of duty on each sack of wool, to the number of one thousand, which they exported from Berwick, and he allowed them to trade in Cumberland and Northumberland.

The subsequent Abbots of Melrose are not prominent in history.¹ It is conjectured that a nephew of

¹ David Benyn, or Binning, was Abbot in 1409; John Fogo, one of the monks, and confessor to James I., in 1425; Richard Lundie in 1422; Andrew Hunter, confessor to James II. and Lord High Treasurer from 1449 to 1455, was Abbot in 1448; William was Abbot in 1460; Richard in 1473 and 1476; John Fraser in 1485, when he was promoted to the Bishopric of Ross; Barnard, from 1490 to 1499; William,

Archbishop James Beaton of St. Andrews was Abbot after 1510, and the office was vacant in 1525, when a competition for it was terminated by the appointment of Andrew Durie, brother of George Durie, last Abbot of Dunfermline before the Reformation. His opponent was John Maxwell, Abbot of Dundrennan, a brother, probably illegitimate, of Robert fourth Lord Maxwell, and who was patronised by the Princess Margaret, Queen-Dowager of James IV., on the condition that she was to receive 1000*l.* Scots annually out of the revenues of the Abbey. The Queen had quarrelled with her second husband, Archibald, sixth Earl of Angus, who was desirous to obtain Melrose for his brother William, Prior of Coldingham, and corresponded with Cardinal Wolsey to exert his influence with the Pope, assuring the Cardinal that he would defray all expenses. The Queen-Dowager procured a divorce from the Earl of Angus in March 1526, but she had previously written in January to her brother Henry VIII., and to Cardinal Wolsey, urgently soliciting them to secure the appointment to Maxwell, specially mentioning the yearly sum she was to receive as her chief object, and declaring that it was of importance in her pecuniary circumstances. The Queen-Dowager also wrote in the name of her son James V., then under age, to the same effect. Durie, however, was successful, having been strongly recommended to Pope Clement VII. in a letter purporting to be sent from James V., which was annulled by an Act of Parliament in 1526, when the King, still a minor, was made to disclaim all knowledge of the application in favour of Durie, and to sanction the recommendation of Maxwell. This was followed by a "ratification" of all the previous statutes in Maxwell's favour "contrair Mr. Andro Dury," whose appointment was nevertheless confirmed in September 1527.

Abbot Durie retained his office till 1535, when James V., who scrupled not to appropriate to himself some of the wealthiest benefices, secured the administration of the revenues, and constituted himself "bailie" or factor of the Abbey. The King procured the absolute resignation of Durie in 1541, and conferred the benefice on James Stewart, an infant illegitimate son by Elizabeth Shaw, appropriating the revenues in his name. This child was appointed Abbot or Commendator of Melrose and Kelso, and he retained those benefices till his death in 1558. Durie, who also died that year, obtained an annual pension of one thousand merks out of the fruits of the benefice; and he was also nominated Bishop of Galloway. He seems to have retained the title of Abbot. Including Durie, the succession of Abbots was thirty-four. Michael Balfour, Secretary of State from 1496 to 1516, is also designated Abbot of Melrose.

James V. died in December 1542, and in 1544 the English under Sir Brian Latoun and Sir Ralph Evre considerably injured the church and the buildings of the Abbey, defacing the tombs of the Douglas family, which was avenged on Ancrum Muir in 1545. In September of the same 1544, Melrose Abbey and the other Border Religious Houses were reduced to ruins by the English under the Earl of Hertford, in his first expedition into Scotland, when the whole of Teviotdale and the Merse was ravaged. This devastation finished Melrose Abbey, and its restoration was prevented by the Reformation.

At the death of the illegitimate son of James V. in 1558, Cardinal Guise was appointed Commendator by his sister the Queen-Dowager. He held the benefice a very short time, and probably never derived any pecuniary advantage from the Abbey, as the revenues of this and other religious houses were seized by the Reformers in the name of the Government in 1559. The whole of the ecclesiastical property was annexed to the Crown in 1560, and a statute was enacted to prevent any alienation. In 1564 a Commendator named Michael is mentioned, who was summoned to Parliament in each of the three following years. The property of Melrose Abbey was granted by Queen Mary in 1566 to the notorious Earl of Bothwell, and his forfeiture in 1567 again placed the Crown in possession. In 1568 the title of Commendator, with the rental, was obtained by James Douglas, second son of Sir William Douglas of Lochleven by the mother of the Regent Moray. He collected all the original records which he could discover of the rights and property of the Monastery. This person nevertheless demolished some parts of the Abbey, and appropriated the stones to the erection of a residence in the town, which has the date 1590, and his own and his wife's names over one of the windows. In 1618 the

son of Sir Walter Scott of Howpasley in 1506, and Robert, in 1510. Abbot Benyn, or Binning, excommunicated John Haig of Bemersyde and his servants for alleged depredations and oppressions committed on the lands and cattle of the Abbey at Redpath. Abbot John Fogo was a determined opponent to the opinions of Wickliffe, and is said to have been one of the principal actors in the condemnation of Paul Craw, or Crawler, a Bohemian physician, who propagated the opinions of John Huss, and was burnt at St. Andrews in 1433—the first who suffered for

the Reformed doctrines in Scotland. The armorial bearings of Abbot Andrew Hunter are carved on a buttress of the church, and display two croziers in saltier, and two hunting horns, with a rose in chief, and a mallet or mell in base—a punning device, formerly the arms of the Abbey. The initials A. H. are on the right and left of the shield, which is supported by mermaids.—Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, pp. 236, 237.

nave was constituted the parish church, and a vault of rude masonry was constructed over a part of the fallen roof, the stones of which were procured from other parts of the ruinous fabric. Many years afterwards the Abbey furnished materials for the erection of a vile prison, and for repairing the sluices of mills. Numbers of the stone images which filled richly carved niches in the walls, buttresses, and pinnacles, were destroyed in 1649, by the fanaticism of the Covenanters.¹ In 1695 the remains of a lofty building were demolished, and Melrose fell into obscurity for upwards of a century. The honour of reviving the public interest in this grand fabric was appropriately reserved to Sir Walter Scott, who, in 1822, exerted himself to prevent the further decay and abstraction of the walls.²

The subsequent disposal of the patrimony of Melrose, after the acquisition of the Commendatorship by James Douglas, may be briefly stated. In 1587, Francis Stewart, Earl of Bothwell, petitioned the Parliament to obtain the property of the Abbey granted by Queen Mary to his guilty uncle, and his application was sanctioned in 1592, with sundry exceptions, and particularly "the Abbacie of Melrose pertaining in property to James Douglas the Commendatour."³ In the same Parliament a "ratification" was granted to Archibald Douglas, son of the Commendator, of a pension for life of "sex monkis portionis furth of the Abbay of Melros, and of the superplus of the third thereof," as a recognition of his father's services. It is conjectured that Archibald Douglas sold this pension to Mr. John Hamilton, who is designated Commendator of Melrose, and who demitted the Abbey to Thomas, Earl of Melrose. Some unexplained proceedings in connexion with the transfer of the property afterwards occur, as a liberal allowance for life was assigned to James Douglas, styled Commendator, when, on the 28th of August, 1609, Sir John Ramsay, created Viscount Haddington in 1606, who killed the Earl of Gowrie's brother in Gowrie House, the brother of George first Lord Ramsay of Dalhousie, obtained a chartered grant on the 17th of June, 1609, of certain lands and baronies belonging to the Abbey, which were constituted the "Lordship" of Melrose. Sir Thomas Hamilton, created Earl of Melrose in 1619, and Earl of Haddington in 1627, acquired the lands and baronies of the Abbey, and in his charter are many additional exceptions of property and feudal superiorities which had been transferred to other parties.⁴ One of them was Walter, first Earl of Buccleuch, some of whose ancestors had been hereditary bailies of the Abbey under the Abbots. The now Ducal Family of Buccleuch subsequently purchased the other lands included in the Lordship.⁵ At the abolition of hereditary jurisdictions in 1747, Lady Isabella Scott, second daughter of Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch and Monmouth by her second husband Lord Cornwallis, received 1200*l.* as a compensation for her right to the bailery of Melrose.

At the annexation of the religious houses to the Crown in 1560, only eleven monks and three portioners are mentioned as the community of Melrose, to each of whom was granted an allowance of twenty merks annually, with the addition of four bolls of wheat, and three chalders of barley and meal to the Monks. John

¹ In Slezer's "*Theatrum Scotiæ*," published in 1593, are drawings of the south side and east end of Melrose Abbey, and the whole of the niches on the buttresses are filled with statues, amounting to twenty-nine. He similarly decorates eight niches of the door and fifteen niches above the splendid window of the south transept.

² It is remarkable that Melrose Abbey was almost unknown as an object of ecclesiastical and architectural interest until the publication of Sir Walter Scott's "*Lay of the Last Minstrel*" in 1805, which induced many to resort thither, who soon made the grey ruins celebrated throughout the world. The prominent figure assigned to this renowned fabric in "*The Monastery*," and in its sequel "*The Abbot*," by the same author, published in 1820, imparted additional fascinations to the poetical descriptions of him who celebrated "*St. David's ruined pile*," though in reality the erection of King Robert Bruce, the second founder. The erection of ABBOTSFORD, only three miles distant, the seat of the mighty Minstrel, farther increased the attractions; and Melrose, Dryburgh, and ABBOTSFORD, are annually the resorts of "pilgrimages" of a different description from those to the Culdee Monastery of Old Melrose, and to the Cistercian shrine of St. Mary in the olden time, and much more numerous than those devotees who were entertained by the ancient monks. Many of the carvings and other ornamental designs of the grand Monument at Edinburgh, erected in honour of Sir Walter Scott, are adaptations from Melrose Abbey. In reference to Sir Walter's exertions to preserve the ruins, Mr. Lockhart says, under date 1822:—"During April, May, and June of this year,

Scott's thoughts were much occupied with a plan for securing Melrose Abbey against the progress of decay, which had been making itself manifest to an alarming extent, and to which he had often before directed the attention of the Buccleuch Family. Even in writing to persons who had never seen Melrose, he could not help touching on this business, for he wrote as he spoke, out of the fulness of his heart. The young Duke readily concurred with his guardians in allowing the Poet to direct such repairs as might seem to him adequate, and the result was extremely satisfactory to all the habitual worshippers of these classical ruins." In a letter to Lord Montague, the uncle of the Duke of Buccleuch, written in 1823, Sir Walter says—"Melrose is looking excellently well. I begin to think, taking off the old roof would have hurt it, at least externally, by diminishing its effect on the eye. The lowering the roofs of the aisles has had a most excellent effect."—Lockhart's "*Life of Sir Walter Scott*," 8vo. 1837, vol. v. pp. 178, 275.

³ *Acta Parl. Scot. folio*, vol. iii. pp. 595, 596.

⁴ Ratification in favour of the Earl of Melros of his Infefment of Melros, with a new Dissolution, 4th August, 1621.—*Acta Parl. Scot. folio*, vol. iv. pp. 641–644.

⁵ The ancestors of the Buccleuch Family were liberal benefactors of Melrose Abbey, of which their descendants are now the proprietors. On the 28th of May, 1415, Robert Scott, of Murdieston and Rinkleburn, now Buccleuch, granted to the Monks the lands of Hinkery in Etterick Forest.—*Liber Sancte Marie de Melrose*.

Watson, Dean of the Chapter, conformed to the Reformation. Nothing is recorded of the other Monks, whose number had been purposely reduced to increase the revenues paid to the Crown.

The annual income of the possessions of Melrose Abbey is variously stated, and probably cannot now be ascertained, on account of the numerous alienations, for some time previous to the Reformation, of church lands for an elusory rent or price, and the leases of tithes granted by the Abbots to "friendly tenants." In 1556 the money rents are rated at 1578*l.*, and this income was increased by sales of produce to 2291*l.*, in which the rental of the valuable Ayrshire property of the Abbey was not included.¹ At the commencement of that year's account twelve Monks were the only inmates of the Monastery, who were increased to sixteen by novices, and their joint sustentation is charged at 275*l.* Small fees are allowed to the "officiaris" or bailiffs of their properties in different districts, and fees to the "vicar pensioners" and curate of three parishes. In 1561 the revenue was estimated at 1758*l.* Scots money.² In the Books of the Collectors and of "Superplus" for 1562 and 1563 the rental is stated as 1144*l.* and 1060*l.*³ But the yearly revenue in money and the payments in kind belonging to Melrose Abbey scarcely indicate its wealth. The Monks were extensive cattle proprietors, in addition to their landed possessions.⁴ It is evident "from the nature of the country, and perhaps from the imperfect state of agriculture, that the revenues of the Abbey were chiefly derived from the pasturage of cattle and sheep. Of the latter the number was much greater than has hitherto been believed; and the minute and careful arrangements for their folds, their attendants, and the separation of their pastures, show how early the attention to this kind of stock commenced in the district now distinguished by the perfection to which it has now arrived. The high value set upon pasturage, whether for sheep or cattle, is shown by its frequent clashing with the rights of game and the forest, and by the strict prohibitions against tillage within the bounds of forests and pasture ranges."⁵ The Monks of Melrose also directed their attention as early as the reign of Alexander II. to the rearing and improving of horses. Roger Avenel, Lord of Eskdale, possessed a stud in that valley, and Patrick, Earl of Dunbar, previous to his departure to the Holy Land, sold to the Abbey in 1247 his stud in Lauderdale for the sum of one hundred merks sterling.⁶

The landed estates belonging to Melrose Abbey were most extensive, and the tenantry of course very numerous, in the counties of Roxburgh, Berwick, Dumfries, Ayr, Lanark, Selkirk, Peebles, Haddington, Edinburgh, and Perth. They possessed tenements in a number of towns and villages. They also acquired the patronage of parish churches, with the lands and tithes, and the Monks appear both as landowners and as rectors, assuming this position from the grants of the lay lords who could not retain possession, or from pious motives conveyed their rights to the Monastery. The "incidental mention of the condition of the Abbey itself at different times strongly illustrates the history of the district. At one time great and prosperous, accumulating property, procuring privileges, commanding the support of the most powerful, and proudly contending against the slightest encroachments; at another impoverished and ruined by continual wars, and obliged to seek protection from the foreign invader; in either situation it reflects faithfully the political condition of the country."⁷

In 1533 a general Chapter of Cisteaux enjoined the revival of the discipline of the Cistercian Order, and a

¹ In 1556 the payments in kind, in addition to the money, were—Wheat, 18 chalders, 15 bolls, 1 firloft, 1½ peck; barley, 84 chalders, 13 bolls, 1½ peck; oatmeal, 14 chalders, 19 bolls, 1 firloft, 3 pecks; oats, 78 chalders, 3 firlofts, 1½ peck; pease, 12 bolls; capons, 124; poultry, 755; peats, 344 loads; butter, 105 stones; lambs, 459; wool, 31 stones, of which 22 stones were sold for 15*l.* 8*s.*, or 1*l.* 1*s.* per stone; cheese, 33 stones; salt, 4 chalders. The "fishing of the watters and hay of the medoes delivered to the foinning of my Lord's (Abbot) house and his servants."—*Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, vol. i. Preface, p. xxvii. In 1561 the payments in kind were considerably diminished.

² Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 244.

³ Keith's *History of the Affairs of Church and State in Scotland*, folio, Appendix, p. 186.

⁴ The Monks of Melrose possessed at one time 104 superior horses, 54 first-rate mares, 265 wild animals in their woods, 39 foals three years old, 150 foals two years old, 270 stags and deer, 1167 ploughing oxen, 3544 cows, 87 bulls, 407 stots three years old, 1376 domestic animals, 1125 stirks or bullocks between one and two years old, 11,963 calves, 8215 common sheep, 344 wether sheep, 8044 mutton sheep, 5900 hogs, and 22,520 sheep for wool.—"Summa Animalium Monasterii de Melros Temporibus Antiquis," from Father Hay's MS. Collection of Charters, in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at

Edinburgh, printed in Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 279. From the Earls of Dunbar and March the Monks obtained a grant of pasturage for three flocks of widders, 500 each flock, in Haddingtonshire. Elena de Moreville and her son Roland of Galloway donated pasturage for 700 ewes, with their followers of two years, one bull, 40 oxen, eight horses, and four swine, to be fed with their own cattle in the Kilncho district of Peeblesshire. In Wedale, or Stow parish, Melrose Abbey possessed pasturage for 500 sheep and 140 cattle; and on Primside the monks had right of pasturage for 400 sheep.—*Liber Sancte Marie de Melros*, vol. i. Preface, pp. xiv. xv.

⁵ In a very early grant by Waldeve Earl of Dunbar, of pasturage on Lammermoir, it is expressly provided that moveable folds, and lodges for the shepherds, shall accompany the flocks of the Abbey, to avoid any permanent building or settlement. Richard de Moreville, the Great Constable, and his son William, granted to the monks of Melrose a site in Wedale for a cowhouse or sheepfold, in which a fire might be kindled to warm the shepherds, and also a hay-shed, within the verge of the Forest, on the condition that no other habitations were to be erected, and the shepherds were to reside in wattled cots for shelter while attending their flocks.—*Liber Sancte Marie de Melrose*, Preface.

⁶ *Liber Sancte Marie de Melrose*, Preface, vol. i. pp. xiv. xv.

⁷ *Ibid.* vol. i. pp. xxvii. xxviii. xxxi.

commissioner was appointed to visit their Monasteries in Scotland. This functionary reported that the principal faults were infringements of the rule which prohibited the Monks to acquire and retain any private property. It was found that they enjoyed pensions and allowances of food and clothing, and each cultivated a garden for his own use and pleasure. Those indulgences, to the annoyance of the Monks, were in future to be discontinued. In 1534 Abbot Andrew Durie was charged, under penalty of deposition, to enforce strictly the rules of the Order, and to punish every refractory Monk, after a warning of twenty days, with excommunication. The brethren, in a delegated meeting at Edinburgh, prepared a memorial, alleging that they only possessed what the Abbot permitted, and requested that further proceedings might be referred to a general Chapter of the Order. This was sanctioned with certain temporary restrictions. And this was one of the last feeble efforts to revive useless and obsolete practices, which overwhelmed the Monastic Orders with ridicule, at the period of the Reformation.¹

The cloisters, offices, and other buildings of the Monastery, were on the north side of the church, towards the Tweed, and were enclosed by a high wall about a mile in circuit, which protected residences erected by private individuals, all of which are completely erased. The number of Monks varied at different periods from sixty to one hundred, with an equal number of lay brethren. They received annually for their support sixty bolls of wheat, and three hundred casks of ale; for the service of the mass, eighteen casks of wine; for the entertainment of strangers, thirty bolls of wheat, forty casks of ale, and twenty of wine; and other allowances in money were liberal.

The ruins of Melrose Abbey have been so often described, that minute details in this narrative are unnecessary, and the fabric must be personally inspected by those who are fond of grand architectural designs and beautifully sculptured fanciful decorations. From the centre of the Latin or Jerusalem Cross rises a square tower eighty-four feet high, of which only the west side remains, resting on a lofty pointed arch, and the summit terminated in a stone balustrade with quatrefoil rails, under which appears in bas-relief a frieze of roses. As the west end of the nave has entirely disappeared, the length of that part of the church cannot be precisely ascertained. From the extremity of the existing edifice to the back of the altar end, the measurement is 251 feet, the length of the transept 115 feet, and the breadth of the nave 69 feet within the walls.² The most entire parts of the ruins are the south transept window and door, on which are numbers of niches, canopies, and tabernacles, the corbels which supported the statues carved with grotesque figures, representing cowed monks, nuns, and hideous faces of musicians playing on instruments. The decorated work of Melrose Abbey and the whole masonry, especially the east end, can scarcely be excelled. The north transept is roofless, and the tracery of one of its windows represents a crown of thorns. On the west side are statues of St. Peter and St. Paul in two elevated niches. Beneath is a door of Saxon architecture, leading into a low vaulted apartment traditionally called the Wax Cellar. A small door on the west side of the south transept, which displays a portion of the original ribbed and groined roof, opens to a staircase winding to the top by seventy-four steps, and leading to galleries in the south side of the nave. Near this door is a stone with a quaint inscription, recording that John Murdo had the superintendence of the masonry of this and other churches.³ Over the same door is a carved shield, displaying compasses and fleurs-de-lys, with an inscription partly obliterated.⁴

¹ The Cisterians of Melrose were included in the satirical ballad, in which it is alleged,—

The Monks of Melrose made guid kail
On Friday, when they fasted;
Nor wanted they guid beef and ale
As lang's their neighbours' lasted."

Dempster, in his "*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*," asserts that many of the Abbots and Monks of Melrose were noted for literary productions, which no one ever saw, and it is almost certain never existed.

² Description of the Ruins of Melrose Abbey, by George Smith, Architect, in Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, p. 260. Another estimate is as follows:—"The nave is in length 258 feet, and in breadth 79 feet; and at the distance of fifty feet from the eastern extremity it is intercepted at right angles by the transept, which is in length 130 feet, and in breadth 44 feet. To the west of the transept are two magnificent rows of pillars, ranged along the north and south sides of the nave, which form two passages leading into the interior, where it is most spacious, of the intersection of the transept and nave.

The passage on the north side is bounded by a blind wal.; that on the south, which is broader and more magnificent, opens into a long series of aisles, intended, perhaps, to serve as confessionals, private chapels, or baptisteries, each highly ornamented, and terminated by a splendid Gothic window."—*Statistical Account of Scotland—Roxburghshire*, p. 95.

³ This inscription, which has been often copied, is arranged as follows, without any date:—

John : Murdo : sum : tym : callit :
was : I : born : in : Parysse :
certainly : and : had : in : keping :
al : mason : werk : of : Santan :
droys : y^e : bye : kirk : of : Glas
gu : Melros : and : Paslay : of :
Nyddesdayll : and : of : Galway :
Pray : to : God : and : Mari : baith :
and : sweet : Sanct : John : to : keep : this : haly : kirk :
fra : skaith.

Probably a similar inscription was sculptured in all the churches superintended by John Murdo.

⁴ The compasses evidently indicate the profession, and the fleurs-

The prominent architectural ability in Melrose Abbey is the structure of the east or altar window, which displays the most elaborate and fascinating decorations. This magnificent oriel, which is fortunately entire, is thirty-seven feet high and sixteen feet broad, divided by four slender mullions eight inches thick, and, instead of waving at the top, are in the perpendicular style. Around the pointed arch of this window is a range of niches containing mutilated statues.¹ The upper part is interwoven with most beautiful, rich, and graceful tracery, and is one of the finest specimens of Gothic architecture to be found. The original fretted and sculptured stone roof covers the east end of the chancel, and the external walls are profusely ornamented with niches, sixty-eight in number, adorned by exquisitely carved canopies, and some of the niches still containing statues. The east end and the south transept are the most adorned with sculpture, and the latter is now the principal entrance to the church. The door by which the aged monk, in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel," led William of Deloraine to the alleged grave of the Wizard, Sir Michael Scott, after conducting him through the cloister, is most beautifully constructed, and the pilasters on each side are so nicely chiselled, that a straw can penetrate the interstices between the leaves and stalks. But it would require too much space to detail the beauty, grandeur, and antiquities of Melrose Abbey, in the church and chapter-house of which Alexander II. and Bishops, Abbots, Barons, Knights, and men of note in their day, were interred. It is truly said of this ornament of the Vale of the Tweed, that "it is extravagantly rich in its imagery, niches, and all sorts of carving by the best hands that Europe could produce at the time."² The collection of the charters of Melrose Abbey, printed in 1837 at the expense of the Duke of Buccleuch, "illustrate few of the existing families of the district. The great families who were the earliest benefactors of the Abbey—the Lords of Galloway, Carrick, and March, the Morevilles and Avenels; have long been extinct, and even those who came in their room—the Fitz-Randolphs, De Soulis, Grahams, and Douglasses, have left only a romantic tradition of the mighty power they wielded on the Border."³

The memorials of the ancient ecclesiastical inhabitants of Melrose are numerous.⁴ Near the south entrance of the Abbey, in the centre of the market-place, is the Cross, a pillar about thirty feet high, and surmounted by the crest of Sir John Ramsay, Viscount Haddington and Lord Ramsay of Melrose. This pillar, which has a most venerable appearance, and is as old as the Abbey, is more fortunate than most of those erections, as it has an endowment of a fourth of an acre in the vicinity for its preservation—the tenure by which the proprietor holds the field. Another Cross was on the road from Darnwick, where the tower of the Abbey is first seen. The sculptured stones in the walls of some of the old houses indicate that the Abbey had been long a common quarry. The romantic village of Darnwick, or Dernock, with its massive and stately square tower, is upwards of a mile from Melrose, on the road to Selkirk and Galashiels, near the south bank of the Tweed, and belonged to the "halidom" of the Abbey. Near Darnwick is the hamlet of Bridgend, a name derived from a bridge erected by David I. as an approach to the Abbey. This bridge consisted of three octangular stone piers which supported planks of wood, and on the centre pier was a gateway under a small tower, which was the residence of the keeper.⁵

de-lys the native country, of this builder or master-mason. The inscription is a laconic admonition—

Sa gays y^e compas evyn about,
Sa truth and laute do bot (without) doute.
behaulde to y^e hend q. Johne Murdo.

This means, that as the compass goes round without deviation, so doubtless do truth and loyalty. Look to the end, quoth John Murdo.

¹ The following traditional story is told of these mutilated statues:—"On the eastern window of the church were formerly thirteen effigies, supposed to represent our Saviour and his Apostles. These, harmless and beautiful as they were, happened to provoke the wrath of a praying weaver in Gattonside, who in a moment of inspired zeal went up one night by means of a ladder, and with a hammer and chisel knocked off the heads and limbs of the figures. Next morning he made no scruple to publish the transaction, observing, with a great deal of exultation, to every person whom he met, that he had 'fairly stumpit thae vile Papist dirt noo.' It is some consolation to know

that this monster was treated with the sobriquet of *Stumpie*, and of course carried it with him to his grave."—Picture of Scotland, by Robert Chambers, vol. i. pp. 117, 118. If this exploit of the fanatical Gattonside weaver is true, it must refer to the south transept, and not to the eastern window, which has statues altogether different.

² Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 196.

³ Liber Sancte Marie de Melros, vol. i. Preface, p. xxii.

⁴ Among the localities are Prior's Wood and Cloister Close, and in the Tweed the Abbot's and the Monk's Fords. St. Mary's, St. William's, St. Helen's, and St. Dunstan's, have been for centuries the designations of the principal spring wells, but St. Cuthbert has been apparently omitted.

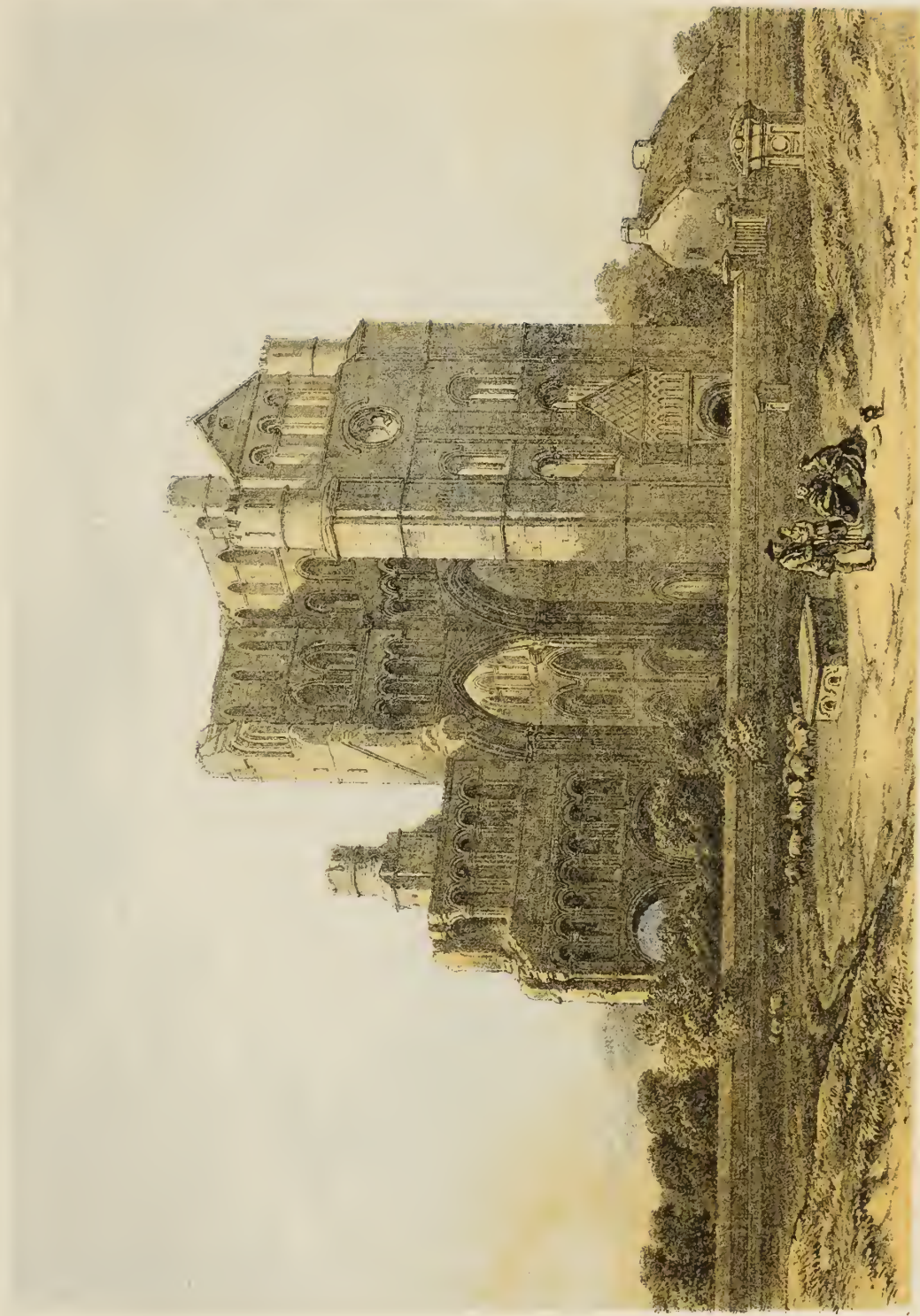
⁵ A description of this bridge, and a view, with Melrose Abbey in the back-ground, is in Gordon's "Itinerarium Septentrionale, or a Journey through most of the Counties of Scotland," folio, 1736, pp. 165, 166. Sir Walter Scott connects this old bridge with the incident of the miller and the White Lady of Avenel in "The Monastery." The piers were above water in 1780, and Sir Walter mentions the landlord of the George Inn at Melrose, who told him that he saw a stone taken from the river, an inscription on which purported that



MELROSE ABBEY, NORTH BRITAIN

From an Original Drawing by J. Roberts R. A.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON



KELLS ABBEY.

From an Original Drawing by Mr. Roberts R. A.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

Sir Walter Scott states that he had often seen the foundations of the piers, when drifting down the Tweed to take salmon by torch-light. The village of Newstead is a mile east from Melrose on the road to Lauder. After the extinction of Old Melrose an ecclesiastical structure was here reared, and was known as Red Abbey Stead, from the colour of the sandstone. The pleasant suburb of Gattonside, embosomed amid orchards and gardens, is about a mile from Melrose. A church is supposed to have been at Gattonside, and some remains of vaults are visible. Drygrange was a granary of the Monks, and another was near the hamlet of Eildon, on the opposite side of the Tweed. A mile above Drygrange is the Hill of the Cowdenknowes, the "bonnie broom" of which is celebrated in Scottish song.

On the side of the middle Eildon Hill is an artificial tumulus called the "Bourjo," of some extent, and traditionally alleged to be the memorial of Druidical rites.¹ The road to this locality is called the Haxalgate, and on the north-eastern summit are the vestiges of an alleged Roman Camp, with two fosses and mounds of earth nearly two miles in circumference, and a level space in the centre. Its identity as a Roman camp is disputed, and the enclosure may have been simply a Border fastness to which the cattle of the neighbourhood were driven on the approach of an enemy.² The fortification has at least the advantage of commanding a most extensive range of country. On the Eildon Hills sixteen terraces can be traced in the staircase manner, similar to the Parallel Roads of Glenroy.

The localities of Melrose abound with superstitious legends of fairies, as veracious as those connected with the ancient devout men of the Abbey. Immediately below the renowned mansion of Abbotsford, like Melrose the annual resort of many a visitor, the Gala Water, celebrated in song, enters the Tweed within three miles of the Abbey. This tributary passes the manufacturing town of Galashiels, the name of which implies the "huts of shepherds upon the full stream." From the hill at Galashiels the view towards Melrose is peculiarly beautiful, including finely wooded banks, slopes of elevations, and the windings of the Tweed, which disappear between the eminences above Drygrange.

KELSO ABBEY.

THE town of Kelso, a burgh of barony under a magistrate appointed by the Duke of Roxburghe, is delightfully situated on the north bank of the Tweed, opposite the confluence of the Teviot with that river. The name was formerly written Kellesowe, and more anciently Calkou, Calchou, and Kelchou.³ It is supposed to be derived from the Chalkheugh—an elevation of gypsum and other calcareous earths overlooking the Tweed, on which a part of the town is built. This eminence, one of the most remarkable objects in the locality, and commanding a view of the finest landscape scenery, is now sloped into terraces and gardens, and is defended by a strong wall from the impetuous and undermining floods of the Tweed.

The earliest notice of Kelso is in 1128, the year of the foundation of the Abbey, in the charter of which is mentioned "the church of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the bank of the river Tweed in the place called Calkou." The town and environs are deservedly admired. Patten, the military historian of the Duke of Somerset's second invasion in 1547, notices Kelso as a "a pretty market town," and Pennant, in

the bridge was erected or repaired by Pringle of Galashiels, afterwards of Whytbank, the proprietor—

"I, Sir John Pringle, of Palmer stede,
Give an hundred marks of gowd sae reid,
To help to build my brig over Tweed."

From this bridge a path called the Girthgate runs up the valley of Allan or Eldwand Water, leading to the Sanctuary of the Holy Trinity on Soutra Hills. In the valley are the old towers of Hillslap, Colmslee, and Langshaw, in ruins. Hillslap, or Hillstop, is assumed pertinaciously to be the Tower of Glendearg in "The Monastery," which the author expressly denies, alleging that not one of the old towers in the Vale "bears the most distant resemblance to the descriptions in the romance."

¹ Hutchison's "View of Northumberland and Excursions to

Melrose," vol. i. pp. 299, 300. The name *Borjo* or *Aborjo* is supposed to be a corruption or transposition of *Choabor*, the *Temple of the Parent of Light*. A large stone, known as the *Eildon Free Stone*, near Melrose, marks the spot where Thomas the Rhymer frequently met the "Queen of Fairyland."

² New Statistical Account of Scotland—Roxburghshire, p. 55. Hutchison, in opposition to Pennant, alleges that this was the scene of a decisive engagement in the eighth century between Ethelwold, King of Northumberland, and Oswyn, who claimed that local monarchy, and in which he was killed.

³ No town in Scotland has been known under such a variety of appellations, all derived from the original, as Kelso. Almost every old writer who mentions the town has his own orthography, and the burgh of the Abbots is duly chronicled under at least twenty different appellations.—Haig's Historical Account of Kelso, 8vo. 1825, p. 2.

1775, describes this Border burgh as a "neat place, built much after the manner of a Flemish town, with a square and a town-house." The tenements are chiefly built of a light-coloured freestone and roofed with blue slates, pleasingly contrasting, when viewed from a distance, with the surrounding wooded hills and knolls. The prominent deformity is the parish church, erected in 1773—a most hideous octangular edifice of rough freestone, the abortion of a superlatively absurd architect, which has been likened to a mustard-pot:—the cemetery surrounding this pile is of spacious extent.

The bridge connecting the town with the once parochial suburb of Maxwellheugh, in which the Regent Morton possessed a residence, is a splendid structure of light-coloured stone, commenced in 1800, and completed in 1803, at the expense, including the approaches of about 18,000*l.*, from a design by Rennie, and adopted by that eminent engineer as the model of his grand Waterloo Bridge at London. This bridge supplies the loss of one a short distance up the Tweed, built in 1754, and destroyed by an inundation in 1797.¹ The present structure displays on each side polished double columns in six sets, and ornamental parapets, each of the five elliptical arches seventy-two feet in span, the piers fourteen feet, the entire length nearly five hundred feet, and the greatest height from the foundation, which is fifteen feet below the bed of the river, fifty-seven feet. The edifice forms the centre of a variety of scenery which must be seen to be appreciated, combining the majestic Tweed at the confluence with the Teviot, the ruinous Abbey, and the agreeable town and the wooded heights on the back-ground of the magnificent seat of Floors Castle. Leyden, whose native village of Denholm is in "pleasant Teviotdale," five miles from Hawick, has celebrated the loveliness of Kelso.² Sir Walter Scott, whose boyhood was passed at Sandyknowe, near Smailholm Tower, six miles from the town, and who was familiar with the district from his infancy, ascribed to its influence his love of natural scenery, more especially when "combined with ancient ruins, or remains of piety and splendour."

The junction of the Teviot and the Tweed above Kelso Bridge enhances the beauty of the landscape.³ Tweed extensively bends within two miles above the town, and the Teviot, as if rivalling the absorbing river in curving beauty and the richness of the banks, placidly approaches the confluence, the former river at least in width nearly five hundred feet, and the latter, in some parts, two hundred feet. Both rivers are often simultaneously flooded, and flow with irresistible force. The Teviot, however, issuing nearer the mountains from which it descends, is more liable to inundations than the Tweed, and after the confluence forces the current of the Tweed against the north side of the channel, often exhibiting a distinct colour some distance along the south side before the waters amalgamate. Every attempt to protect a wooded islet below the confluence has been unavailing, and only some fragments of the rude bulwarks are occasionally visible. Above Kelso Bridge are two islands in the Tweed, and the intervening verdant peninsula between that river and the Teviot is called St. James's Green, or Friars, on which is held annually, on the 5th of August, the large St. James's Fair and Market. On an eminence, about two miles north-east of the town, is the obelisk erected to the memory of the poet Thomson, in his native parish of Ednam, of which his father was the pastor. The village is pleasantly situated on the Eden, a tributary of the Tweed.

The most conspicuous object in the rural capital of "pleasant Teviotdale," which retains no other indication that it was an old monastic town, is the ruin of the Abbey Church, prominently appearing in melancholy grandeur above the domiciles and villas of the modern "Calchou." This portion of the Abbey exhibits

¹ A bridge anciently crossed the Tweed at Roxburgh, which was often destroyed and renewed in the contests for that long extinct Castle and town. Patten, noticing the return of the English from the battle of Pinkie in 1547, records that the victors were at Roxburgh on Friday, the 23d of September, and encamped in a "great fallow field" between Roxburgh Castle and Kelso, about a quarter of a mile from the latter town. He says in his quaint phraseology—"Betwyxt Kelsey and Rokesborowe hath bene a great stone bridge with arches, the which the Skottes in time past have broken, bycaus we shoold not that we cum to them."—*Expedicion into Scotland*, in Sir John Graham Dalyell's *Fragments of Scottish History*, 4to. p. 87.

² The lines by Leyden in his "Scenes of Infancy Descriptive of Teviotdale," published in 1803, have been often quoted:

"Bosom'd in woods, where mighty rivers run,
Kelso's fair vale expands before the sun;

Its rising downs in vernal beauty swell,
And, fringed with hazel, winds each flowery dell.
Green spangled plains to dimpling lawns succeed,
And Tempe rises on the banks of Tweed.
Blue o'er the river Kelso's shadow lies,
And eopse-clad isles amid the waters rise."

³ The confluence of the Teviot with the Tweed attracted the notice of Patten, who in describing the situation of Roxburgh Castle, then in ruins, says—"It is strongly fenced on eyther syde with the course of two great rivers—Tivet on the north and Tuede on the south, both which joyning somewhat nie togyther at the west ende of it, Tivet by a large compas abowte the fieldes we lay in, at Kelsey doth fall into this Tuede, which with great deapth and swiftness runneth thence eastward into the sea at Berwyk, and is notable for two commodities specially, salmons and whetstones."—*Expedicion into Scotland* in 1547, pp. 86, 87, in Sir John Graham Dalyell's *Fragments of Scottish History*, 4to. 1798.

the progress of architecture between the middle of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, and is a noble relic of the Saxon or Early Norman style, erroneously described by Pennant as a Greek Cross, in which the compartments are of equal length. Pennant seems not to have observed that, contrary to the usual practice, the head of the cruciform at Kelso is towards the west, and the eastern division was as long as those commonly displayed in the Latin Cross.

While the extinct town of Roxburgh, connected with that burghal Parliament, known as the "Court of the Four Burghs of Scotland," was prosperous, the Castle of Roxburgh was the occasional residence of David, Prince or Earl of Cumberland, afterwards David I. In 1113, while heir-presumptive to the Scottish throne, he induced a colony of thirteen monks from the Reformed Benedictine Abbey of Tiron to proceed to Scotland. The brethren, whose Order was instituted by the Elder St. Bernard in 1109, were designated "Tironenses," or Tironensians, from the name of the woods near Ponthieu, in Picardy, where they finally settled. Prince David located his Tironensian emigrants at his forest castle of Selkirk, and endowed them with ample possessions.¹ The Monks, however, were dissatisfied with their situation on the banks of the Etterick, and after the succession of David I. to the throne he removed them from Selkirk—a "place unsuitable for an Abbey"²—and founded their monastery, dedicated to the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist on the Tweed, beside Roxburgh, "in the place called Calkou," which, as already observed, is the first notice of Kelso.³ The first charter of David I. is dated in 1119 and 1124, and refers to Selkirk, and the second in which Kelso is specified, is dated 1147–1152. The Monks continued at Selkirk fifteen years, and removed to Kelso in 1128, the year of the foundation of their Monastery.

St. Bernard, the founder of the Tironensian Order, known as the Elder St. Bernard, must not be identified with the Great St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux, the eloquent theologian, who died in 1153. The Elder St. Bernard enjoined his religious fraternity to observe rigidly the monastic rules instituted by St. Benedict, adding some regulations of his own, requiring each of the brethren to practise a mechanical art within the Convent, to prevent idleness, and to aid in the maintenance of their community. The Tironensian Monks were in consequence respectively painters, carvers, carpenters, masons, smiths, gardeners, and husbandmen, and the productions of their industry were applied to their sustenance. The enlightened policy of David I. in introducing and encouraging those monastic artizans is obvious. It is said that he proceeded to France to visit St. Bernard, who died before his arrival.

When first stationed at Selkirk, the Abbot of the colony was nominated by David I. his chaplain, which he confirmed after his accession to the Crown, and the removal of the Convent to Kelso, ordaining that the Abbots were to be chaplains to his successors. The foundation of the church was laid on the 3d of May, 1128, and most of the fabric was the manual labour of the Monks. The first Abbot was Ralph, one of the French monks, who presided at Selkirk four years, and returned to the parent Abbey at Tiron, of which he was elected the superior at the death of St. Bernard in 1116 or 1117, as was also his successor William. The third Abbot was Herbert, a monk of the Order, in whose time the Convent was transferred to Kelso.⁴ This removal was accompanied by a considerable increase of endowment, a perpetual exemption from all episcopal dues and restrictions, and the donation of the church of the Blessed Virgin at Kelso, granted by Robert, Bishop of St. Andrews, in whose Diocese the Abbey was situated. The Convent was subsequently the parent establishment of the Priory of Lesmahago in Lanarkshire, the Abbeys of Kilwinning in Ayrshire, Lindores in Fifeshire, and Aberbrothock in Forfarshire. Abbot Herbert resigned in 1147, when he was promoted to the See of Glasgow, and was succeeded by Arnold or Ernald, who presided thirteen years, and

¹ Liber S. Marie de Calchou—Registrum Cartarum Abbatie Tironensis de Kelso, A.D. 1113–1567, printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, 4to. 1846, vol. i. pp. iii. iv. The Register of the Charters of Kelso Abbey is preserved in the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh, and is a volume of 219 vellum leaves. On the eighth leaf is the inscribed title—"LIBER SCE. MARIE DE CALCHOU," and is properly the commencement of the charters. The previous leaves contain a "ROTULUS REDDITUM," or record of all the property in lands and tithes written before 1300. The Register has some defects, yet it is important among those of the Scottish Religious Houses for its historical information.—Ibid. vol. i. p. xix.

² In the original charter it is stated of Selkirk, which is not very complimentary—"Quia locus non erat conveniens Abbathie."—Liber S. Marie de Calchou, vol. i. p. 5.

³ The first settlement at Selkirk was also dedicated to the Virgin and St. John the Evangelist.—Carta Comitum David Filii Regis Malcolmi de Fundatione istius Monasterii (ad Selechyie scilicet) A.D. 1119–1124.—Liber S. Marie de Calchou, vol. i. p. 3. Simon of Durham assigns the year 1113 as the time of the arrival of the Tironensian colony at Selkirk. Fordun places them at Selkirk in 1109, and agrees with the Chronicle of Melros that the Abbey church of Kelso was founded in 1128.

⁴ Abbot Herbert is the alleged author of an account of the rebellion and punishment of Somerled, Thane of Argyll.—Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, vol. ii. p. 346. It is remarkable that the historical Abbot Herbert of Kelso could be profound in the disturbances and insurrections constantly occurring in the Western Islands.

in whose time Henry Earl of Huntingdon and Northumberland, the only son of David I., was interred in the Abbey Church in June 1153. In the following year the Monks lamented the decease of their munificent royal founder and patron. Malcolm IV., son of Earl Henry, imitated his grandfather in instructing and civilizing his subjects, and granted several donations to the Convent at Kelso. In 1159 this monarch ratified a general charter of confirmation of all the lands and other possessions of the Monks. On the 13th of November, 1160, Abbot Arnold was elected to the See of St. Andrews, which had been declined by Waltheof, Abbot of Melrose.¹

John, the fifth Abbot, was a personage of aspiring pretensions and ambition. In 1165 he obtained from Rome the rank of a mitred Abbot for himself and his successors. His proceedings indicate, that though only half a century had elapsed from the date of the original settlement of the Convent at Selkirk, the Abbey of Kelso had acquired very considerable riches by the liberality of benefactors and the judicious management of the active artizan members. Abbot John claimed precedence for himself and his successors over all the superiors of Religious Houses in Scotland, which was disputed by the Augustinian Prior of St. Andrews and his successors, and the ecclesiastical litigation was not adjusted till about 1420 by James I. in favour of the latter. In 1176 Abbot John was engaged in a controversy, no account of the termination of which is preserved, with Walter, Abbot of the parent Monastery at Tiron, in reference to subjection, which evinces the power and wealth of the Monks of Kelso, as it was always an acknowledged rule that religious houses not specially exempted were subordinate to the fraternity from whom they emanated. In 1178 Abbot John granted to Henry, first Abbot of Aberbrothock, a charter exempting him and his successors from any control or subjection. Abbot John died in 1180, after presiding over the Abbey twenty years.

The sixth Abbot was Osbert, Prior of Lesmahago, who, in 1182, went to Rome with Joceline, Bishop of Glasgow, and Arnold, Abbot of Melrose, to procure the removal of the excommunication and interdict of the Kingdom issued against William the Lion by the proud and haughty Pope Alexander III. The Pontifical absolution was obtained from Pope Lucius III., who granted to the Convent at Kelso an exemption from any future sentence of excommunication unless it proceeded directly from the Holy See, which was confirmed with other privileges and immunities by Pope Innocent III. about 1201. The Convent were to pay one merk of silver annually as a recognition of their dependence on Rome, and for their other privileges a piece of gold, or two pieces of silver.

About the time of Geoffrey, the seventh Abbot, who had been the Prior, Pope Innocent III. issued two Pontifical epistles in reference to the Abbey. The one, addressed to the Chapter, enjoined the application of the revenues to the maintenance of the brethren, hospitality to travellers, and the relief of the poor; and the other prohibited all bishops and other dignitaries, from molesting or injuring the Abbey. The succession of thirteen Abbots is recorded previous to the election of William of Dalgarnock, the twenty-first Abbot, who had been preceptor to the young king, David II., and who granted a charter as Abbot in April 1329. Of the intervening Abbots, little is recorded except their names or initials in the charters. Patrick, a monk of the Convent, was elected as fourteenth Abbot in 1259, from which he was removed in 1260 by the intrigues of Henry of Lambden, who obtained at Rome a rescript from Pope Alexander IV., appointing him Abbot. On the day of his arrival Abbot Patrick immediately resigned, and deposited on the high altar the crosier and mitre, which Henry of Lambden assumed, and secured himself as fifteenth Abbot. It appears from the Chronicle of Melros that he was considered an intruder, and at his death in 1275 it is therein recorded,—“Let him see to it how he entered to that pastoral cure, for, whether by the Divine vengeance or the good pleasure of God we know not, he was cut off by sudden death at his own table at the beginning of his early meal, and was buried that same day after the second refection of the Convent, perhaps because they would not watch his body.” In 1291 Richard, the seventeenth Abbot, was one of the commissioners to examine the claims of the competitors for the crown, and in August 1296 he swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick, which was followed by the Convent acquiring the restoration of their estates from the English monarch. Walran, the eighteenth Abbot, presided over the Convent during the wars of the succession, when, according to the representation of William Lamberton, Bishop of St. Andrews, the Abbey of Kelso was severely dilapidated from its exposed situation on the Borders, and was so much destroyed by fire and plunder,

¹ Abbot Arnold, or Bishop Arnold, was inclined to literature, if Dempster is to be credited, as a treatise on the “right government,” whether of the Church or of the State, is not specified by the credulous writer, is ascribed to him.—Dempsteri Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum, vol. i. p. 44.

that the brethren and novices visited the other religious houses for their food and clothing as mendicants.¹ The assailants of the Abbey and the other Border Monasteries were chiefly military freebooters, who "converted the war into an opportunity and licence to commit every sort of disorder, returned the monks evil for their good, and made their peaceful halls and cloisters a theatre of rapine, extortion, and bloodshed."² The nineteenth Abbot was Thomas of Durlam, an Englishman, who is accused by Robert Wishart, Bishop of Glasgow, of extravagantly spending and appropriating to his own use the revenues of the Abbey, and of the priory of Lesmahago; and the same Prelate alleges that he was Abbot of Kelso by usurpation.³

William of Dulgarnock, previously mentioned as the twenty-first Abbot, retired with David II. to France in 1333, when Edward III. invaded Scotland under the pretence of supporting the claims of Edward Baliol. David II., attended by the Abbot, was absent nine years, and the Monastery was entrusted to William of Hassendean, who was styled Warden, and to whom the English monarch granted letters of protection and restitution of property in 1333 and 1334. The Abbey had been again injured by the English, for in the year 1344, David II., two years after his return, allowed the Monks to cut wood in the Forest of Selkirk and Jedwart to repair the fabric. William, Abbot of Kelso, is mentioned in charters dated in 1342 and 1354, but it is uncertain that he was William of Dalgarnock. After those years the list of the Abbots is obscure.⁴

Andrew Stewart, Bishop of Caithness, held the Abbey of Kelso with that of Fearn in Ross-shire, till his death in June 1518. It is conjectured that this Bishop was the legally recognised Abbot, having obtained the benefice in 1511, and that the disturbed state of the Borders, and the distance from his usual residence, exposed the Abbey to various intruders. On the 9th of September, 1513, the night after the battle of Flodden, Andrew Ker of Fernihirst, commonly known as Dandie Ker, forcibly entered the Monastery, and expelled the acting superior. This violence was probably achieved in favour of his brother Thomas, who was certainly Abbot in 1519 and 1528. The powerful Border Family of Ker of Fernihirst would not be neglectful of their own interests. Abbot Thomas Ker, a "right sad and wise man," was the last who held the office. James Stewart, an illegitimate son of James V., was nominated Commendator of Kelso and Melrose, in the fourteenth year of his age, apparently before 1536, and the King appropriated the revenues to his own use, for which he obtained the Papal sanction in 1541. This Commendator, who was a pupil of Buchanan, died in 1558, and both Abbeys were granted by the Queen Regent to her brother Cardinal Guise, who never received any advantage from the benefices, of which the Reformation deprived him in 1559. Though the spiritual office of Abbot was suppressed, the title long continued as the temporal designation of the individual who was intrusted with the confiscated ecclesiastical property, or who obtained grants from the Crown. One of the Kers of Cessford was styled Abbot of Kelso in 1566, when he was killed by a relation.⁵ This titular or lay Abbot seems to have acted as superior to the surviving Monks, and granted leases with their consent of certain lands and tithes.⁶

Towards the end of July 1522, a numerous army, under the Earl of Shrewsbury, committed many ravages in "pleasant Teviotdale," before the invaders were compelled to retreat. In this expedition Thomas, second Lord Dacre, pillaged Kelso, and burnt one-half of the town, without injuring the Abbey, which the Earl of Northumberland intended to demolish. In the following year a more formidable invasion was intrusted to the Earl of Surrey, and Abbot Ker induced the Queen-Dowager, Margaret, to intercede with her brother Henry VIII. that the monastery and the town might be spared by the English commander. The application was unsuccessful, and on the 30th of June, 1523, Kelso was plundered and burnt by the said Lord Dacre. The Abbot's residence, the adjacent buildings, and the Chapel of the Virgin, in which were stalls or seats of elegant carving, were reduced to ashes. The English also demolished the dormitory, and unroofed every part

¹ Liber S. Marie de Calchou, vol. i. Preface, p. xii. and pp. 249, 250.

² Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 89.

³ Liber S. Marie de Calchou, vol. i. p. 154.

⁴ William of Bolden was Abbot in 1370 and 1372, and his successor was Patrick, who was Abbot in 1398 and 1406. William was Abbot in 1426, and in September 1434 is mentioned as recently deceased. On that occasion appearance was made for his successor, whose name began with the initial letter S. Another William was Abbot in 1435

and 1444. Alan was Abbot in 1464 and 1466. Robert was Abbot in 1473 and 1475; George, in 1476; and a second Robert in 1476 and 1505. Much uncertainty envelopes those ecclesiastical dignitaries and their actual successors.

⁵ Birrel's Diary, in Sir John Graham Dalyell's Fragments of Scottish History, p. 5.

⁶ MS. Collection of Notes out of the Register of the Privy Council of Scotland in Harleian MSS. vol. ii. cited in Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 104.

of the Abbey, the result of which was, that the interior and the walls were long afterwards exposed to the injuries of the weather, the religious services were suspended, and the Monks retired to one of the nearest villages in depression and poverty. In a letter to the Earl of Surrey, dated the 1st of July, 1523, Lord Dacre narrates his career of devastation, and states that he had destroyed "all the town that would burn by any labour," and "cast down the gatehouse of the Abbey." In the war which commenced in 1542, the monastery and town were again burnt by the English under the same Earl of Surrey, who was then Duke of Norfolk. After that disaster the annals of the Abbey present a succession of similar inflictions, in which the English in their ravages were willingly assisted by the predatory inhabitants of the Borders, and Kelso was peculiarly exposed to the marauders. In 1545 Teviotdale was overrun by an English army of 12,000 men under the Earl of Hertford. Whatever had escaped in former incursions was then utterly destroyed, and the four great Border Monasteries were completely ruined. The only resistance was at Kelso, where about three hundred persons who attempted to defend the Abbey, were killed or taken prisoners. It was either on this occasion, or in 1560, that the east and north sides of the stately tower of the Abbey were demolished, and the choir almost levelled to the ground. The English under Hertford, in his second invasion as the Protector Somerset in 1547, found little to plunder or destroy; and Patten records that the inhabitants of the "pretty market-town" of Kelso fled at their approach.¹ The state of the ruins indicates that the fabric was assailed by artillery from the north-east, and two arches with their superstructure are the only remains of that part of the choir.

Kelso Abbey was thus wantonly destroyed by the English sixteen years before the Scottish Privy Council enjoined all "places and monuments of idolatry" to be removed, yet the Reformers could not desist from their destructive propensities. In 1560, when a part of the church was still used for divine service, and the buildings of the Monastery sheltered a few of the Monks, the excited populace defaced the remaining images and ornaments which had escaped the violence of war, and burnt the relics and the internal furniture. The devoted pile was again dilapidated in 1580, and subsequently some hideous innovations were erected on the ruins. A low gloomy vault was thrown over the transept, which was constituted the parish church, and dismally contrasted with the original grandeur of the fabric. This mass of deformity continued till 1771, when one Sunday the fall of a piece of cement from the roof induced the congregation to retreat in terror, excited by an alleged prediction of Thomas the Rhymer, that "Kelso kirk would fall when at the fullest." Though the alarm proved false, the lieges could never be persuaded to re-assemble in their dark cavernous tabernacle, which from that day was deserted. Above this deformity was constructed another vault, called the outer prison, from which access was obtained to an inner prison, or smaller arched apartment on the top of the cross over a kind of aisle.² In 1805, William, fourth Duke of Roxburghe, commenced the removal of the deformities, which were doubtless constructed of the materials of the ruins, and were completely cleared, in 1816, by his successor James, fifth Duke. The fabric was repaired and strengthened in 1823 by local subscription, and is protected by an elegant enclosure.

Kelso Abbey in its entire state was one of the grandest specimens of Saxon ecclesiastical architecture in Scotland. The only remains are the central tower, the walls of the transepts, the west end, and the two arches of the choir already mentioned, the exterior of all of which is very imposing. The walls of the tower are five and a half feet thick, solidly built, and, like many ancient churches, contain internal narrow passages communicating with galleries. It appears from the ground-plan that the nave was ornamented by a porch at the western entrance twenty-three feet square. The choir consisted of three divisions, and the two existing arches spring from massive tiers, with slender circular pillars attached, and bold, projecting capitals. In the north and west fronts are many Saxon mouldings, such as the deeply-displayed circular arch and its enrichments, the zig-zag, the nail-head, the chevron, and the diagonal ornaments. A part of the superstructure is inferred to be of the Norman style, from the blank ranges of intersecting arches placed round the walls in the interior and externally, and the double arcade of small circular arches supported by slender shafts, which were carried

¹ The massive ruins of Kelso Abbey were the occasional resort for shelter and defence from the sudden inroads of the English Borderers. In April 1546 Lord Eure reported to Henry VIII. that the garrisons of Wark, Cornhill, and Norham, took the "churche of Kelso, wherein were xxxxi. fetemen;" and in June of that year another attack by the garrison of Wark is mentioned, when sixteen men "had beidit them a

strength in the old walles of the steeple."—Morton's *Monastic Annals* of Teviotdale, p. 103.

² Sir Walter Scott, who in his youth frequently resided at Kelso, admirably describes, in "The Antiquary," this den as the prison of Edie Ochiltree, the gaberlunzie, or blue-gown man, one of a privileged class of mendicants under legal protection.

round the entire walls over the massive Saxon arches. In the tower are also some fragments of Early English, and the ruins contain a specimen of most exquisitely finished interlacing arches.¹

The cloister was a large square on the south side of the choir. No trace now exists of the probable site of the chapel of the Virgin, the dormitory, the Abbot's hall and residence, the gateway, and other buildings of the Monastery. It is not surprising that so little of the church remains, and the "great and superfluous buildings of stone" which impeded the English engineers in their plans of fortification have disappeared. The conventual edifices were abstracted by the lieges of the lordly Abbot's burgh of Kelso, and few memorials of the former inmates are now to be found.

Two Rentals are preserved of the Abbey of Kelso, the one written before 1300, and the other, which is in the charter-room at Floors Castle, in 1567. The former enumerates all the property of the Convent in lands and tithes, and the towns, villages, parishes, and widely scattered localities, from which the revenues were derived.² At the Reformation the revenues, according to the Government valuation, amounted to 3716*l.* Scots, including the Priory of Lesmahago.³ Another account limits the rental to 2945*l.*⁴ In the "Books of Assignation of the Thirds of the Benefices" the money is 2501*l.*,⁵ and in the Books of Assumption, 2057*l.*⁶ The Rental is also stated at 1682*l.* and 1983*l.* in money. The Rental of 1567 is 2195*l.*, exclusive of the teinds of twenty-two churches valued at 784*l.*, and eleven vicarages, which amounted to 246*l.*; and it is added, that the sum of the "hail silver" is 2185*l.*, which brings the money revenue to the large annual sum of 4280*l.*⁷ The Abbey possessed fourteen "kirks that pay vittall," and a variety of other sources of income. The revenues and payments in kind are so variously stated that it is impossible to obtain any accurate information.

In addition to the above opulence, the Convent possessed large flocks of sheep and herds of swine in various districts, and more than six thousand ewes, dinmonts, wedders, and swine, are enumerated. It is conjectured that black cattle were not then reared in considerable numbers on the estates and grazings belonging to the Abbey. The oxen mentioned on the pastures of the Monks were chiefly those used in ploughs. They had a herd of fourscore cows at Witelaw, and smaller herds at other places; and they had sixty swine pasturing at Newton. In the twelfth century they obtained a grant from Odenel de Umfraville, Lord of Prudhoe, of the tithe colts of his stud of brood-mares, which was extended by his descendants to the tenth colt of the mares pastured in their forest westward of Cottoneshop. Those tithe colts were marked, and were allowed to follow their dams in the forest till they were two years old. The Abbot's waggons were usually sent to Berwick for commodities, and a special resting-place was allotted to them on the lands of Simprin. Seven granges or farmsteads are mentioned, each of which, occasionally visited by a monk, was superintended by a resident lay brother, who rendered his accounts to the cellarer of the Monastery.

Most of the estates of Kelso Abbey were acquired by Sir John Maitland, Keeper of the Privy Seal in 1567, created Lord Maitland, and father of the first Earl of Lauderdale. On the 8th of March, 1565, he exchanged the Abbacy of Kelso for the Priory of Coldingham with Francis Stewart, afterwards Earl of Bothwell; but in 1587 Sir John Maitland was again Commendator of Kelso, and it appears that all the monks were dead before July in that year.⁸ He had new transactions in the same year with Bothwell,

¹ Description of the Ruins of Kelso Abbey Church, by George Smith, Esq. Architect, in Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, pp. 107, 108. Mr. Morton states the dimensions of the Church as follows—Length of the transept within the walls, 71 feet; breadth, 23 feet; height of the central tower, 91 feet; breadth, 23 feet; thickness of the walls, 5½ feet; height of the pointed arches under the tower, 45 feet; width, 17 feet; diameter of the columns in the choir, 7 feet. No buttresses appear on any part of the fabric. The windows are numerous, almost all along, narrow, and circular-headed, without any tracery. One in front of the north transept forms a complete circle, and two on each side of the central tower are quatrefoils set in circles.—*Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, pp. 74, 75.

² *Liber S. Marie de Calchou—Rotulus Reddituum*, vol. ii. pp. 455–473.

³ The payments in kind were—Wheat, 9 chalders; bear, 106 chalders, 12 bolls; oats, 4 chalders, 11 bolls; meal, 112 chalders, 12 bolls, 3 firlots.—Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. ii. p. 152

⁴ Harleian MS.

⁵ The other payments—Wheat, 9 chalders; bear, 42 chalders, 6 bolls, 2 firlots; meal, 92 chalders, 12 bolls, 3 firlots, 1 peck; oats, 1 chalders, 3 bolls; hay, 1 fiddier; pepper, 1 lb.—Keith's *History of Church and State in Scotland*, folio, Appendix, p. 85.

⁶ With wheat, 9 chalders; bear, 40 chalders, 4 bolls, 3 firlots, 1 peck; meal, 65 chalders, 6 bolls, 2 firlots, 3 pecks; oats, 8 bolls.

⁷ Kelso, 319*l.* 16*s.*; Barony of Bowden, 392*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*; the property in Tweeddale, the Merse, Lothian, and other parts, 315*l.* 15*s.*; the Barony of Lesmahago, 1167*l.* 7*s.* 10*d.*—*Rentall of the Abbacie in Liber S. Marie de Calchou*, vol. ii. pp. 489–493.

⁸ *Acta Parl. Scot.* folio, vol. iii. p. 454. In 1587, when the King's "Thirds of the Benefices" were ordered to be collected, the royal share from Kelso and Lesmahago was the sum of 533*l.*, and in 1593 the revenues of both were valued at 1933*l.*, exclusive of wheat, 3 chalders; oats, 57 chalders, 14 bolls; meal, 8 bolls.—Morton's *Monastic Annals of Teviotdale*, pp. 149, 150.

who was again in possession of Kelso and Coldingham. After Bothwell's attainder in 1592 the Abbey of Kelso and the Priory of Coldingham were annexed to the Crown, and though he was pardoned before his renewed treasons finally expelled him from the kingdom in 1594, his possessions were not restored to him. Sir Robert Ker of Cessford, who was created Lord Roxburghe about 1599, and Earl of Roxburghe, obtained grants of the greater part of the Abbey lands of Kelso. The estates, with the exception of the patronage of twenty of the parish churches belonging to the Monastery, which the Earl resigned to Charles I. in 1639, remain with his descendants and representatives the Dukes of Roxburghe. In 1747 when the hereditary jurisdictions were abolished, Robert second Duke received 1300*l.* as a compensation for the regality of Kelso.

The historical notices of the "Abbot's burgh of Kelso" are briefly enumerated. In 1209 Herbert, Bishop of Salisbury, fled from his See, and resided for a time at Kelso; and in 1219 William de Valoines died in the town, from which his body was conveyed for sepulture to Melrose Abbey. Henry III. of England and his Queen Eleanor of Provence visited Kelso and the adjacent royal castle of Roxburgh in the summer of 1255. Edward I. crossed the Tweed at the town with an immense army, who had assembled at Newcastle for the invasion. The town was occasionally selected for arranging treaties and truces between the two kingdoms, one of which was concluded in 1380 and another in 1391. James III. was crowned in Kelso Abbey in August 1460, while a mere infant, immediately after the disastrous fate of his father at the siege of Roxburgh Castle. In 1487 commissioners met at Kelso to negotiate a peace. The Regent Duke of Albany arrived in the town in 1515, and received complaints from the inhabitants of the oppressions of the Earl of Angus, Lord Home, and others. In that century Kelso was repeatedly plundered and burnt by the English. Queen Mary was two nights in the town in 1566, and held a council in the Abbey in her progress to Berwick. In 1639 the town was occupied by the Covenanting army, and from its situation was subsequently the frequent resort of the contending parties. In 1684 Kelso was almost destroyed by an accidental fire, and a proclamation was issued recommending a general collection to relieve the sufferers and rebuild the town.¹ A similar calamity occurred in 1738, and to some extent in 1801 and 1815. The Adventurers in 1715 entered the town on the 22d of October under the Earl of Mar, by whose orders the Chevalier St. George was proclaimed in the market-place on the 24th by Seton of Barns, who assumed the title of Earl of Dumfermline.² The Adventurers received no encouragement from the inhabitants, and never returned. Prince Charles arrived at Kelso at the head of one of his divisions, consisting of between three thousand and four thousand men, on the night of the 4th of November, 1745, and on the 6th entered England.

With the exception of the ruins of the Abbey, no antiquities of any note exist in Kelso, which "reposes on the sunny banks of the beautiful rivers which unite near the Chalkheugh." The vicinity abounds with traditions of religious edifices which have entirely disappeared. The present parochial district includes the three parishes of St. Mary, or Kelso Proper, in the Diocese of St. Andrews, and St. James and Maxwell in the Diocese of Glasgow, in each of which were chapels. On the Teviot, close to the site of the former town of Roxburgh, was a monastery of Franciscans or Grey Friars, in which Edward I. lodged on Monday the 14th of May, 1496, the day before he obtained possession of Roxburgh Castle. This monastery of the "Friars near Kelso" was burnt by the English in 1545. Those ecclesiastics seem to have been very poor, and their remaining buildings were repaired, and occasionally inhabited by the first Earl of Roxburghe. The Castle of Roxburgh was for centuries the object of military strife. The English garrisoned this extinct fortress in 1346, which they retained till the siege in 1460, when James II. was killed by the bursting of a piece of ordnance rudely constructed, and the spot where the King fell is marked by a holly-tree within the park of the Duke of Roxburghe. The fortress was demolished to the ground by the Scottish forces, and only a few vestiges are now to be seen of this calamitous pile and the defunct town. Of Floors Castle, the magnificent seat of the Duke of Roxburghe, on which large sums have been expended by James,

¹ This calamity is erroneously dated 1686 in the *New Statistical Account of Scotland*.—*Roxburghshire*, p. 315. The year of the conflagration was 1684.—*Law's Memorials*, edited by Charles Kirkpatrick Sharpe, Esq. p. 261; *Lord Fountainhall's Chronological Notes*, 4to. 1822, pp. 35, 91.

² On Sunday, the 23d, the Viscount of Kenmure enjoined the Rev.

Robert Patten to preach in the "great kirk of Kelso, and not at the Episcopal meeting-house." The edifice was completely filled by the Highlanders. Mr. Patten was succeeded in the afternoon by the Rev. William Irvine, a Scottish Nonjuror, who fervently exhorted his hearers to be "zealous and steady in the cause."—*Patten's History of the Rebellion*, 8vo. 1717, pp. 39, 40, 49, 64.



JEDBURGH ABBEY

From an Original Drawing by J. Parker

JOHN G. MURDOCH, LONDON

sixth Duke, who succeeded his father in 1823, it would be superfluous to attempt a description. The additions to this grand mansion render the edifice of great extent, and the situation is one of the most delightful in the vicinity of "pleasant Teviotdale."

JEDBURGH ABBEY.

JEDBURGH, the country town of Roxburgh, and a royal burgh, is two miles above the influx of the river Jed with the Tweed, ten miles from Kelso, and forty-six miles by Lauder from Edinburgh. The ancient name was Jedworth, and the district was known as the Forest of Jedworth; but another Jedworth represented by a hamlet called Old Jedworth, is about five miles farther up the vales of the Jed.¹ The origin of the burgh, like that of many others, was the Castle of Jedburgh, the founder of which is unknown. This extinct edifice was one of the favourite residences of David I., who by the advice of his preceptor John, also designated Achaius, afterwards Bishop of Glasgow, induced a colony of Canons-Regular, or Augustines, of the Order of St. Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, from the Abbey of St. Quentin at Beauvais in the department of the Oise, to settle at Jedworth near his Castle. The exact date is variously stated in 1118 and 1147.² The first may be the year of the arrival of the Canons, and the second that of the foundation of the Abbey, which was at first a Priory.

Few particulars are recorded of the Abbots of Jedburgh, whose names are involved in obscurity. The first is supposed to have been Daniel, the superior of the original Priory, whose name is recorded in a charter of David I. in 1139. After him appears Osbert, who styled himself Prior, and in the notice of his death, in 1174, he is designated the first Abbot of Jedwood in the Chronicle of Melros. The immediate successors of Abbot Osbert were Richard the Cellarer, who died in 1192; Ralph, one of the Canons, a reputed prophet, who died in 1205; and Hugh, Prior of Restennet, a dependent Priory in Forfarshire. An Abbot named Kennoch, a saint, is mentioned, whose festival was observed on the 14th of November.³ He is the next on record after Hugh, whose age and infirmities compelled him to resign in 1239. His successors were Philip, one of the Canons who presided ten years; Robert de Gyseborn, another Canon, who died in 1249, the year of his election; Nicholas, who resigned in 1275; and John Morel, a Canon.

A remarkable circumstance occurred at Jedburgh in 1285-6, while John Morel was Abbot. Alexander III., bereaved of all his children, married Joletta, or Jolande, daughter of the Count de Dreux. The nuptials were celebrated in Jedburgh Castle, with unusual pomp, on a Sunday early in February. In the midst of the royal banquet, a theatrical masque, or company of performers, entered the hall, and proceeded through the centre, between the guests. A band of revellers first appeared, playing upon musical instruments, and followed by a party who displayed their agility in varied dances. An individual, one of the masquers, resembling a human skeleton, mixed with the dancers, which excited such terror in the royal bride and ladies, that the revelry was suddenly terminated. Another account states that this figure seemed to glide rather than to walk, and while the company gazed with consternation on the phantom it suddenly vanished. Though this was afterwards ascertained to be a mere frolic, it made a great impression on the public mind, when the King was thrown from his horse over a precipice in Fife, on the 16th of March thereafter, and killed by the fall. The spectral appearance on this occasion was long believed an omen of that calamity.

Abbot John Morel and the Convent of Jedburgh swore fealty to Edward I. at Berwick in 1296, nevertheless the Abbey was plundered and destroyed, and the lead taken from the roof of the church, by Sir Richard Hastings. The Canons were reduced to poverty, and the English monarch procured a

¹ Jedburgh is locally pronounced Jethart—a corruption of Jedworth, and means the *farm-hamlet on the river Jed*. A church or chapel was at Old Jedworth, in a cemetery still used for interment. Both Jedworths are said to have been built by Ezred, or Egred, Bishop of Lindisfarne from A.D. 830 till his death in A.D. 845, and it is recorded that he granted his two villages to the Monastery on that island.

² Wynton in his Chronicle assigns the year 1118, and Fordun says that the Monastery of Jedburgh was founded in 1147.

³ This alleged Abbot St. Kennoch is produced on the very doubtful authority of Dempster; who introduces many persons into his biographical details.—*Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Scotorum*, vol. ii. p. 419.

refuge for them in houses of their Order in England till their Monastery was repaired. The successors of John were William, Robert, and another John, whose name occurs in charters from about 1338 to 1354. A long interval occurs, in which the Abbots are unknown. Walter is noticed in a deed or agreement, dated November, 1444; Robert was Abbot in 1473; John Hall in 1478; Thomas in 1494; and Henry in 1507 and 1511. John, a son of Alexander, second Lord Home, was Abbot at the time of the battle of Flodden, after which the most disastrous predatory warfare desolated the Borders, and Jedburgh was not overlooked.

The Abbey never recovered the visitation of the English in 1544, and the revenues were annexed to the Crown in 1559. Andrew, son of George, fourth Lord Home, is mentioned as Abbot at the time of the Reformation, and he was alive in 1578. The Kers of Fernihirst had long exercised the office of Bailies of the Abbey and Jedburgh Forest. In 1587 this was confirmed to that family by a grant of James VI. to Sir Andrew Ker, and in 1622 the lands belonging to the ancient Canons were erected into a temporal lordship in his favour, with the title of Lord Jedburgh. This extensive and valuable property is now held by his descendants, the Marquises of Lothian, whose beautiful modern seat of Mount Teviot is in the vicinity.

It is extraordinary, considering the inroads and ravages of the English from 1513 to 1547, and the predatory warfare of the Border freebooters, that so much of the stately Abbey of Jedburgh is entire. Nothing is known of the dispersion of the Monks, who seem to have fled in terror from the invaders. After the Reformation they disappeared, and no members of the Convent are mentioned. The only part of the Monastery remaining is the church, which was dedicated under the invocation of the Blessed Virgin. This grand edifice, in its entire state, consisted of a nave with side aisles, a cross and transept, and a choir with chapels. The east or altar end of the choir, and the cloisters and chapter-house, which were on the south side, no longer exist. Several distinct styles of architecture are apparent in this magnificent fabric. In the choir are massive Saxon pillars with deep circular arches, over which are specimens of the Norman style, and in the superstructure of the nave the Old English is displayed in a long range of narrow-pointed windows, and in the blank arches of the west end. Two splendid Norman doors ornament the church. The one at the west end, which is the principal entrance, is a semicircular arch, seven and a half feet deep, enriched with sculptured mouldings springing into the capitals of slender shafts. Above this door, in front of the edifice, is a radiated circular window or Catherine wheel, which has a superb appearance. The other Norman door, in the south wall of the nave, close to the transept, supposed to have been the entrance from the cloisters, is a fine specimen of workmanship less elaborate. The mixture of distinct styles indicates that Jedburgh Abbey was renewed at different periods. The only decorated Gothic specimens are the windows of the north transept, the cemetery of the Family of the Marquis of Lothian. This transept has buttresses, and was a subsequent addition. The south transept was unfortunately demolished at the alteration of the parish church in the eighteenth century. Above the cross is a lofty square tower, with angular turrets and projecting battlements. This tower and the choir are much decayed, and the marks of the battering of the English in 1544 are still visible. The eastern half of the nave is roofless, and the middle and north aisles in the western part are deformed by the inelegant appropriation as the parish church, with a modern roof lower than the original, which completely destroys the character of the fabric. By the external renovation of the church, and the removal of rubbish to the depth of several feet, the fine proportions and architectural details are now developed.

The revenues of Jedburgh Abbey at the Reformation are, like those of the other Monasteries, variously stated. In 1562 the rental, including the dependencies of Restennet and Canonbie, was estimated at 1274*l.*, exclusive of payments in kind.¹ Another account reduces it to 618*l.*, and a third to 974*l.*² The temporal possessions and the "spirituality" of the Abbey were valuable and extensive, yet of the history of this Monastery, and its actual condition, little can be satisfactorily ascertained. Most of the documents perished

¹ These payments were—Wheat, 2 chalders, 2 bolls; barley, 23 chalders; meal, 36 chalders, 13 bolls, 1 firloft, 1 peck.—Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 54.

² Keith's History of the Church and State of Scotland, folio, Appendix, p. 185. In the "account" of the Thirds by Robert, Lord Boyd, Collector General for 1576, the Third of the Abbey of Jedburgh

was rated at 333*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.*, exclusive of payments in kind—Wheat, 11 bolls, 1 firloft, 3 pecks; bear, 7 chalders, 10 bolls, 3 firlots, 2 pecks; meal, 12 chalders, 4 bolls, 1 firloft, 3 pecks; and Third of the altarage of St. Ninian in Jedburgh, 3*l.* 4*s.* 5*d.* In an Order to collect the King's Thirds of the Benefices in 1587, Jedburgh was to pay 200*l.*, and Restennet 100*l.*—Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, p. 54.

in the hostile incursions of the English, or were lost or destroyed by interested parties after the Reformation. No chartulary is known to exist, and only a few isolated deeds are preserved.¹

The old royal burgh is beautifully situated on the west side of the river of its name, and is surrounded by hills of considerable height. The sylvan scenery of the vale of the Jed, the course of which to the Teviot, from its rise at the base of the Carlintooth mountain on the confines of Northumberland, is little more than twelve miles, is uncommonly romantic, and the town, with its venerable Abbey, and modern Castle or prison, is intermingled with ancient orchards, gardens, and plantations in rich profusion. The view of the Abbey, rising majestically above the houses, is grand and imposing, while the adjacent heights screen the town, and impart a sequestered and rural aspect. Jedburgh is of great antiquity, and its Castle is mentioned in the earliest Scottish annals. This Castle, of which no vestige appears, was a favourite residence of Malcolm IV., who died within its walls in 1165, and William I. and Alexander III. were frequent occupants. Prince Alexander, son of the latter, was born in Jedburgh Castle in 1263, and the extraordinary appearance at the revelry in honour of the marriage of the same monarch is already noticed. The English retained possession from the time of the battle of Durham, or Nevill's Cross, in 1346 to 1409, when the Castle was taken and demolished by the Teviotdale Borderers. So strong was the Fortress, that it was proposed to levy a tax of two pennies on every hearth in Scotland to defray the expense of time and labour necessary for its destruction, but the Regent Albany was afraid to hazard this tax, and the Crown revenues furnished the supplies.² The site is now that of the modern Castle of Jedburgh, and is pleasantly situated on an eminence at the Townhead.

In Jedburgh were convents of Carmelites or White Friars, and Franciscans, and a Maison-Dieu, of which the only memorials are the names of some localities in the town.³ At the end of the bridge, next the suburb of Bongate, is a large stone displaying indistinct representations of animals, which was probably a part of an ancient obelisk or cross. In the vicinity is a bridge over the Jed of great antiquity, consisting of three semicircular arches. The old Cross stood at the head of the Bongate, between the High Street and the Townhead.

Jedburgh is prominent in the Border wars and inroads. The usual retreat of Sir James Douglas the "Good" was in Jed Forest, and for his services in protecting Teviotdale from the English garrisons he was rewarded by King Robert Bruce with a grant of the Castle, Forest, and town of Jedworth. In 1334 Edward Baliol ceded to Edward III., for pretended assistance in recovering the kingdom, certain rents and lands on the Borders, of the annual value of 2000*l.* sterling, and in this "donation" was included the town of Jedburgh, of which Robert de Maners was ordained to take possession, while the Castle and Forest were to be under William de Prestfen. This arrangement was altered on the 23d of September that year, when the English monarch assigned to Lord Henry Percy the Castle, Forest, town, and constabulary of Jedburgh, and the villages of Bonjedworth and Hassindean, receiving Annandale in return, which he granted to Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford and Essex, Lord High Constable, who had obtained Annandale from Edward I. But the Borderers would not be the subjects of Edward III., and in 1338 Sir William Douglas, of Liddesdale, expelled the English from Teviotdale, which they recovered, and held from 1346 to 1409.

The town was burnt by the English in 1410, when they invaded the vales of the Jed, the Kale, and the Rule. A similar calamity was inflicted a few years afterwards, and a third time in 1464 by the Earl of Warwick. For years after the battle of Flodden the town was severely ravaged by the English, yet the Earl of Surrey, in a dispatch to Henry VIII. in 1523, states that Jedburgh contained "two times more houses than Berwick, and well built, with many honest and fair houses in garrison, and six good towers." Those towers or bastel houses, in one of which Queen Mary is said to have lodged, have been long removed. The Earl of Surrey stormed and burnt the town in 1523, and dilapidated the Abbey by fire. Jedburgh soon recovered those disasters, and also the injuries sustained from the wild and lawless Border chiefs. Sir Ralph Eure, in a letter to the Earl of Hertford, dated 11th March, 1544, describes

¹ The Convent garden is still known as the "Lady's Yards," and another as the "Friars' Garden," both containing very old fruit trees.

² Sir Walter Scott's *Border Antiquities*—Introduction, vol. i. p. liv.

³ In the Carmelite Convent of Jedburgh lived and died Adam Bell, author of "*Rota Temporum*,"—a history of Scotland down to 1535,

the original of which is said to have been destroyed at Roslin by the mob who invaded that Chapel at the Revolution. A chapel on the south side of the choir was long the grammar-school, at which the Poet of "*The Seasons*" received his elementary education. This building, which was entered from the Canongate, is now removed.

Jedburgh as the "strength of Teviotdale, which, once destroyed, a small power would be sufficient to keep the Borders in subjection." On the 12th of June that year the town received a hostile visit from the English under Eure and his son, who pillaged the Abbey, loaded five hundred horses with the spoils, and secured some pieces of artillery in the market-place. Upwards of one hundred and twenty of the inhabitants were killed in their flight to the woods. In subsequent years several ravages were committed, especially after the battle of Pinkie in 1547, when some companies of Spanish soldiers were stationed in the town to overawe the surrounding districts. To prevent the fortifying of Jedburgh by those foreigners, a number of French auxiliaries, under D'Esse, marched to dislodge the Spaniards, who fled at their approach.

The French auxiliaries, consisting of fifteen hundred foot and five hundred horse, continued some time at Jedburgh, and were compelled to retire from the Borders to avoid an English army of 8000 men, under the Earl of Rutland, who found the town deserted, and the houses unroofed. The Regent Arran, accompanied by the Queen Dowager, Mary of Guise, and sundry of the nobility, held a court of justice at Jedburgh in the autumn of 1552, when some of the principal Border leaders were rewarded with knighthood for their good conduct, and offenders were compelled to deliver their nearest relatives as pledges for their future behaviour. In 1561 the future Regent Moray, then Lord James Stuart, was sent to Jedburgh, and inflicted summary punishment on some of the most guilty marauders.

Queen Mary was at Jedburgh in October 1556, and rode to visit the Earl of Bothwell, who was lying wounded in Hermitage Castle. The Queen accomplished her long journey to and from that stronghold in one day, through dangerous morasses and dreary valleys. When she returned to Jedburgh, the fatigue induced an illness which threatened to be fatal. The house in which the Queen resided is a large tenement of thick walls, with small windows in the Backgate—a lane parallel to the High Street. A broad stone stair leads to the Queen's apartment, and it is said that a part of the tapestry of the walls is still preserved.¹ After Queen Mary escaped from Lochleven Castle, the burgesses espoused the "King's cause," in opposition to their powerful neighbour, Ker of Fernihirst, who was devoted to the Queen's interest. A poursuivant, countenanced by Ker, was sent to them in the Queen's name, to announce that all their proceedings without her authority were illegal. The Provost allowed him to read a part of the proclamation, and compelled him literally to "eat his letters," inflicting on his naked person a flagellation with a bridle, and threatening that if he ever entered the town with a similar message he would be put to death.²

To revenge this exploit of the stalwart burgesses of Jedburgh and other quarrels, Ker of Fernihirst seized and hanged ten of them, and burnt the whole store of provision deposited in the town for the winter.³ About the time of this retaliation the enraged baron, who was always a dangerous personage, was prevented from burning the town by the advance of an opposing force.⁴ This was probably the English under the Earl of Sussex, who entered Jedburgh on the 18th of April, 1570; and as he was well received by the magistrates and burgesses, who had not been connected with some recent hostilities, he spared the town, and returned to Berwick by Hawick on the 23d, after destroying upwards of fifty peel towers and fortalices, and three hundred hamlets and farm-steads. Those excesses were terminated in 1575 by an encounter known as the "Raid" of the Red Swire—a hill on the limits of the two kingdoms, in which the burgesses of Jedburgh decided the victory, and their war-cry was—"Jethart's here! A Jedworth! A Jedworth!" In 1601 a serious riot occurred between the Kers and the Turnbells, in which some were killed, and some of the leaders were capitally punished.

The reproachful phrase of "Jethart justice" is still proverbial, and means that persons accused of crimes were executed summarily, and then tried—a procedure by no means uncommon in the unscrupulous times of the Scottish Wardens of the Borders, who often resorted to this mode of procedure.⁵ It is more directly supposed to have originated in the severity inflicted on some irreclaimable offenders in 1608 by George Home, Earl of Dunbar, who is said to have condemned and executed them without trial.

¹ In the Privy Council Record this tenement is designated the "house of the Lord Compositor." A group of pear-trees in an adjoining garden is traditionally believed to be the offshoots of a large tree destroyed by a storm on the night James VI. entered England to assume the Crown.

² Richard Bannatyne's *Memoriales* (Secretary to John Knox), printed for the BANNATYNE CLUB, pp. 176, 177.

³ Sir Walter Scott's *Border Antiquities*—Introduction, vol. i. p. lxi.

⁴ Richard Bannatyne's *Memoriales*, p. 224.

⁵ Sir Walter Scott's *Border Antiquities*—Introduction, vol. i. p. xcv

The ancient charters of Jedburgh, which dates as a royal burgh from the reign of David I., perished in the conflagrations of the English and Border wars. Those documents were renewed in the name of Queen Mary in 1566, and the magistrates obtained a charter in 1569, conveying to them the property and revenues of the Abbey within the parish for the erection of hospitals, and the support of the poor and infirm, which was ratified by the Parliament in 1597.¹ No infeftment, however, was obtained, and those revenues were never acquired.

In the channel of the Jed, about a quarter of a mile south of the town, is a section of rock geologically interesting, as displaying the junction of the greywacke formation with the old red sandstone. It is one of the most complete instances of the kind to be found, and was first noticed by Dr. James Hutton in 1769. In some parts of the course of this romantic stream remarkable breaks occur, and the general tendency of the strata falls in an opposite direction.² Caves excavated out of the solid rock for refuge and the concealment of property are in various parts of the precipices of the Jed, and are now almost inaccessible. Above the cave at Lintalee are the remains of the camp constructed by the "Good" Sir James Douglas for the defence of the Borders while King Robert Bruce was in Ireland, and described, with the battle which ensued in the glen of the Lintalee rivulet, in Barbour's Bruce.³ This fierce encounter was between Douglas and the English, who invaded Jed Forest to level the timber in 1317, under the Earl of Arundel. Douglas drew the English into ambush, compelled them to fight, and defeated them.⁴ In this battle was killed Thomas de Richmond, the English Warden, whom Barbour assumes to have been the commander, and who he alleges fell by the hand of Bruce.

Jed Forest, which included many hundred acres, was finally levelled in the eighteenth century, though numerous trees have germinated from the old stocks. A few specimens of the ancient Forest, chiefly birch-trees, are in the vicinity of Fernihirst. Two venerable surviving oaks are about a mile from the town. One is known as the "King of the Wood," and towers above the other trees, its circumference near the ground fourteen feet. The other is the "Capon Tree," believed to be upwards of a thousand years old, and its circumference twenty-one feet. Beyond these trees a narrow path, overshadowed by the branches of ancient oaks, leads to Fernihirst Castle, on a steep bank overlooking the Jed, three miles above Jedburgh. This original seat of the Earls and Marquises of Lothian, the grey turrets of which rise amid lofty old trees, was erected about the end of the fifteenth century by Thomas Ker, of Kersheugh, who designated the stronghold Fernihirst, and consists of a lofty square tower, with smaller buildings forming a court-yard half ruinous, and occupied as a farm-house.

Fernihirst and its owners figure considerably in the Border wars. The Castle was taken by the Earl of Surrey and Lord Dacre in 1523, after a brave defence by Sir Andrew Ker, the son and successor of the founder. His son, Sir John Ker, recovered his Castle in 1549, by storming the walls, assisted by a party of the French auxiliaries then in Jedburgh. The savage Borderers inflicted dreadful cruelties on the English garrison, whose eyes they tore out before they put them to death, to retaliate for their licentious and barbarous oppressions.⁵ In 1570 Fernihirst Castle was demolished by the Earl of Sussex and Sir John Foster, to revenge an incursion into England by Sir Thomas Ker, Scott of Buccleuch, and other Border chiefs, on the day after the murder of the Regent Moray, of the design against whom they were evidently aware, and exulted at its success. The Castle was rebuilt in 1598 by Sir Andrew Ker, first Lord Jedburgh.

¹ Acta Parl. Scott. folio, iv. p. 153.

² New Statistical Account of Scotland—Roxburghshire, p. 3.

³ The Bruce and Wallace, 4to. 1820, vol. i. pp. 322-326.

⁴ Annals of Scotland, by Lord Hailes, 4to. vol. ii. p. 72.

⁵ The governor of the English garrison, after Fernihirst Castle was scaled by means of long poles instead of ladders, offered to capitulate, on the condition that their lives should be spared. D'Esse, the commander of the French auxiliaries, would listen to nothing else than an absolute surrender, and the English leader submitted to two French officers, imploring them to protect his life, rather than leave him to encounter the furious Borderers, who had forced an entrance by the gate into the lower court. One of the latter, recognising him as the

ravisher of his wife, came suddenly behind, and struck off his head with such a well-aimed blow, that it fell some paces from his body. The other Borderers vied with each other in mangling and insulting the corpse. Not satisfied with the victims whom they secured, they even purchased those taken by the French, on whom they exercised such cruelties as their ferocious revenge suggested.—Morton's Monastic Annals of Teviotdale, pp. 39-41, Sir Walter Scott's Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border, vol. i. p. xxxv.; Beague's History of the Campaigns 1548 and 1549 between the Scots and French on the one side, and the English and their Foreign Auxiliaries on the other, translated by Dr. Abercrombie, 8vo. 1707, Book III. chap. ii.

NEWARK CASTLE—BATTLE-FIELD OF PHILIPHAUGH.

THE ancient royal burgh of Selkirk is the designation of a county long and still traditionally known as "The Forest," including the vale of the Etterick, called Etterick Forest. This name is no longer applicable to the district, which is a continuous sheep-walk, thinly peopled, the surface consisting of lofty mountains green to the summits, and deep lonely glens, the mossy beds of which are traversed by the tributaries of the Yarrow, the Etterick, the Tweed, and the Borthwick Water—the last-mentioned stream entering the Teviot, and all absorbed in the Tweed. The pastoral character of Selkirkshire is indicated from the parish of Yarrow, which extends eighteen miles at the greatest length, and is sixteen miles broad, the assumed area one hundred and eleven square miles, or 71,410 acres, of which only three thousand acres are capable of cultivation, upwards of six hundred acres are under natural or planted wood, and the immense assemblage of mountains and vales an uncultivated sheep-walk. The woods of "The Forest" were gradually levelled, and the only memorials are considered to be a few old small and stunted oaks on a mountain known as West Faldshope Hill. At Hangingshaw, formerly the residence of the "Outlaw Murray," are many splendid trees, which ornament that part of the Vale of Yarrow, and the soil is so congenial to the growth of timber that copses shoot up spontaneously in the enclosed grounds.

The Vale of Yarrow, beyond the woods of Hangingshaw, is enclosed by green mountains relieved by opening glens. The parish church, truly pastoral in its situation, and said to be an erection of the year 1640, is a pleasing object in this retired and lonely Vale. A short distance westward of this humble edifice are two massive upright stones at the distance of eighty or one hundred yards, displaying almost illegible inscriptions. This is said to be the locality of the ballad known as the "Dowie Dens of Yarrow," which is similar in theme and sentiment to another fragment entitled "Willie's drowned in Yarrow." Some allege that these rude stones commemorate a conflict in which the leaders were slain, and the bodies of their followers thrown into the "Dead Lake"—a marshy pool in an adjoining haugh. Others suppose the event described in the ballad to refer to a duel between John Scott of Tushielaw and Walter Scott of Thirlestane, which was fatal to the latter, though it is ascertained that this encounter occurred at the locality of Deuchar Swire farther distant. Three stones are also identified with a feud in which a son of Scott of Harden, residing at Kirkhope, was killed by his relative Scott of Gilmanscleuch.

Some miles above Yarrow Church is the solitary glen of the Douglas rivulet, in a wild tract, formerly one of the most ancient possessions of the powerful Family of Douglas, and a retreat of the "Good" Sir James Douglas, when levying forces to support King Robert Bruce. Tradition reports this glen as the scene of the "Douglas Tragedie," and seven large stones on the surrounding heights are said to mark the spots on which the seven brothers mentioned in the ballad were slain. Two miles up the Douglas Water is Blackhouse Tower, one of the old fortalices which abound in Selkirkshire; and onwards, in the direction of St. Mary's Loch, is Dryhope Tower, a lofty square keep near the eastern extremity of the lake, and the reputed birth-place of Mary Scott, celebrated in song as the "Flower of Yarrow," daughter of John Scott of Dryhope. The "Flower" married Walter Scott of Harden, who was as locally renowned for his freebooting adventures as this lady was for her personal attractions, and she was the ancestress by this alliance of the Elliots of Minto and Stobs, the Scotts of Polwarth, and of Sir Walter Scott. Lord Heathfield of the Noble Family of Minto, distinguished for his defence of Gibraltar, was also one of the descendants of the "Flower of Yarrow."

The Yarrow issues from the east end of St. Mary's Loch, a lake four miles in length and one mile in breadth, with a depth in some places of thirty fathoms. The hills, green to the summits, rise from both sides of the lake, which reposes placidly under their protection, and receives their streams and torrents. St. Mary's Loch is connected with the Loch of the Lowes—which means lakes or lochs—a lake about a mile in length, by a small stream which issues from the latter through a narrow isthmus raised by the opposite currents of the Corsecleuch and Oxcleuch rivulets. It is evident that both were originally one lake, and the difference of level is only fifteen inches. On the south side of St. Mary's Loch, about a mile west of Dryhope Tower, is the site of St. Mary's Chapel, its solitary cemetery still the place of sepulture



NEWARK CASTLE.

From an Original Drawing by G. Battlemore

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

of some families in the vicinity. Within this cemetery is a mound designated "Birnam's Cross," with a few stones on the summit, the reputed grave of a "wizard priest" who was not allowed to be interred in "company of holy dust." This mountain chapel is alleged to have been injured by the Scotts in a feud with the Cranstouns, though the structure was used for divine service in the early part of the seventeenth century.¹ The vale of Meggetdale opens on the north side of St. Mary's Loch, leading to Henderland Castle, the residence of a noted freebooter named Cockburn, who was hanged over his own gate for his atrocities by order of James V. A mountain-stream rushes through a rocky chasm in the vicinity, and in a cave behind the wife of Cockburn is said to have concealed herself during his execution. The ballad of the "Lament of the Border Widow" commemorates this event. West of the entrance into Meggetdale is the hill of Merecleuch-head, across which the road extends over the opposite mountains into the vale of the Etterick. At the head of the solitary Loch of the Lowes are Kirkenhope on the east and Chapelhope on the west. A few miles onwards in this uninviting region is Birkhill, noted in the annals of the Covenanters as the place where four of them were shot by Graham of Claverhouse. Near Birkhill is the waterfall of Dobb's Linn, in the vicinity of which was a cave, often the refuge of those stern religionists, whose sentinels on the Watch Hill announced the approach of the enemy. Two miles beyond Birkhill, to the north-west, is the majestic cataract of the "Grey Mare's Tail," which issues from the dreary Loch Skene, about two miles distant, and falls over a precipice upwards of three hundred feet high into a gulf near the hollow of the "Giant's Grave."

The utter loneliness of this mountainous region must be seen to be understood. The "hills whence classic Yarrow flows" are the high grounds of the beautiful and romantic Moffatdale, and discharge numerous streams into the Loch of the Lowes and St. Mary's Loch, the principal of which is the Megget Water, or Little Yarrow. The source of that celebrated stream, however, may be traced to the vicinity of Yearnscleuch and Birkhill, assuming the Peeblesshire Megget Water to be a tributary of St. Mary's Loch. Few human habitations are in the solitudes traversed by the Yarrow after leaving its placid lakes, in its course to the Etterick of fourteen miles, yet this was long the region of superstitious legends, and of deeds of violence, the recollection of which lingered after the real events were obscured or forgotten. It is stated that the publication of Sir Walter Scott's "Minstrelsy of the Border" dispelled the traditional charm of the old ballads which had been transmitted for ages to successive generations, and "these relics of Border song, thus laid bare to the light of day, have, like the friendly and familiar spirits of Border superstition, when noticed with peculiar kindness, entirely disappeared, and that, too, in consequence of the very effort made to preserve them."²

The vales of "The Forest" abound with old deserted towers, and one of the most prominent is Newark Castle on the south bank of the Yarrow, within three miles of its confluence with the Etterick, and at least five miles of the burgh of Selkirk. This massive and desolate pile, the name of which designates other old castles and residences in various counties, is built on a peninsula formed by the encircling stream in the woods of the Duke of Buccleuch, whose fine seat of "Sweet Bowhill" is a short distance down the Yarrow. The scenery in this part of the Vale is wild and sequestered, yet impressive and beautiful, and is duly celebrated in song and ballad. Hence the comparison of the peel tower on Leader-side, which "stands as sweet as Newark does on Yarrow." Wordsworth, in his "Yarrow Visited," notices the "shattered front of Newark's tower, renowned in Border story," and the fabric is immortalised in the "Lay of the Last Minstrel" as the scene of the said "Lay" recited to Anne, Duchess of Buccleuch, when it was her residence for a time, after the execution of her husband the unfortunate Duke of Monmouth, in 1685.³ The widowed Duchess, who had "wept o'er Monmouth's bloody tomb" in her youth, though it is known that they were not on very friendly terms for some time previous to his insurrection, enjoins her domestics "to tend the old man well," listens to his "Lay" of chivalry in the hall, and eventually locates the "Last Minstrel" in a cottage in the vicinity.

¹ Parts of the banks of St. Mary's Loch are ornamented by plantations, which evince the taste of Lord Napier, the proprietor, and the margin is skirted by a few old trees. A graphic description of the scenery is in the Introduction to the Second Canto of "Marmion," in which are celebrated the placidity of the lake, its solitude on every side, and the unbroken slopes of the hills.

² New Statistical Account of Scotland—Peeblesshire, p. 58.

³ Chalmers erroneously asserts in a note (Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 974) that "Anne, the first Duchess of Monmouth and Buccleuch, was born in this Castle of Newark." The Duchess was born in Dundee, in 1651, at the time of the siege of that town by General Monk.

Newark Castle is said to have been erected as a hunting-seat for James II., which connects the fabric with the middle of the fifteenth century. The Castle and adjacent lands seem to have been acquired in the seventeenth century by the Buccleuch family, who had long before obtained several extensive grants in "The Forest." In February, 1634, Francis, second Earl of Buccleuch, father of the Duchess Anne, was served heir to this and other territorial possessions of his father, the first Earl, and his elder daughter, the Countess Mary, was served heiress in October of that year. The Duchess Anne was served heiress to her sister on the 17th of October, 1661, the month in which the Countess died at Wemyss Castle in the thirteenth year of her age.¹ It appears from these documents that Newark Castle, otherwise Whitelibrae, Hillbrae, or Catchmurlie, was so called to distinguish the tower from the Cartermauch, or Auldwarck, the ruins of which were long visible on the south-east bank of the Yarrow, nearly a mile below Newark, in the domain and near the mansion of Bowhill, and this was probably the original royal hunting-seat, which was assigned to the warden of the royal forests in that quarter. It is ascertained that Auldwarck Castle, popularly so called after the erection of the other, existed in very early times, when none of the nominal proprietors could obtain lime and stone.²

William, first Earl of Douglas, acquired the Forest of Selkirk in the fourteenth century. Archibald, fourth Earl of Douglas, and first Duke of Tourane, dated a lease of certain lands in the Forest to his chaplain, Sir Walter Middlemas, at "the New-warck," on the 2d of March, 1423-4. After the attainder of Earl James in 1455, when the power of the House of Douglas was long prostrated, the whole Forest was annexed to the Crown, with all its jurisdictions, by Act of Parliament.³ The district was governed by the King's steward for thirty-three years throughout the disturbed reigns of James II. and James III. In February, 1489-90, Alexander, second Lord Home, Great Chamberlain, was appointed by Parliament to collect the Crown rents and casual revenues in the counties of Selkirk and Stirling, and he was then keeper of Newark and Stirling Castles. In 1503, John Murray of Falahill, an ancestor of the ancient family of Murray of Philiphaugh, was Sheriff of Selkirkshire, and he delivered seizin of Etterick Forest, including the manor of Newark, and the Castle within that Forest, to the Princess Margaret of England, as a part of her jointure lands at her marriage to James IV.⁴ In 1509, John Murray, then designated of Philiphaugh, and his heirs, obtained from James V. the sheriffdom of Selkirkshire, and it appears that he was soon afterwards killed in a Border feud with the Kers and Scotts.⁵

After the forfeiture of the Earl of Douglas, the Murrays occupied Newark Castle, and the edifice was soon "renowned in Border story." It is frequently mentioned in the records of the Parliaments of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. At the death of his mother the Queen-Dowager Margaret in 1541, James V. resumed his rights to the Forest of Etterick and manor of Newark. This monarch was induced to increase his revenues by breeding sheep, which Sir Ralph told in 1540 was considered derogatory to his station by his uncle Henry VIII., who suggested that he should seize the castles and lands of his rebellious subjects. Such quietness ensued after decisive measures had been adopted against the Border chiefs, some of whom were imprisoned, that the flocks belonging to James V. in Etterick Forest, to the number of 10,000 sheep under the superintendence of Andrew Bell, were as profitable and secure as if they had been pastured in the county of Fife.⁶

It was often the practice of the Scottish monarchs, in controlling the Border districts, to commission one powerful turbulent family to compel their neighbours to subjection. The Murrays of Philiphaugh had probably claims to a part of the lordship of Etterick Forest, which was mixed with their own possessions; and as, like other Border septs, they were fierce and violent, it is not unlikely that they held their lands merely by occupancy, without any feudal title. This seems to have been the origin of the old ballad for centuries popular in Selkirkshire, entitled the "Song of the Outlaw Murray."⁷ The scene is supposed

¹ Inquisitionum Retornatarum Abbreviatio in Publicis Archivis Scotiæ adhuc servantur—Selkirkshire, folio, 1811, cols. 41-76.

² Chalmers' Caledonia, vol. ii. pp. 974, 977.

³ Acta Parl. Scot. folio, vol. ii. p. 42.

⁴ Etterick Forest and Newark had been the dowry of Mary of Gueldres, the immediate predecessor of Queen Margaret, and mother of James IV. It is ingeniously conjectured that the two farms of Deloraine and Deloraine Hill, between the Yarrow and the Etterick, received the designation from *de la reine*, or afterwards from Mary of

Loraine, or of Guise, Queen of James V.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Selkirkshire, p. 44.

⁵ Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part i. pp. 68, 69. The descendants of John Murray of Philiphaugh retained the hereditary office, with various interruptions caused by their turbulence, till 1748, when John Murray of Philiphaugh received 4000*l.* for the hereditary jurisdictions.

⁶ Robert Lindsay's (of Pitcottie) History of Scotland, folio, p. 279.

⁷ This ballad was published by Sir Walter Scott in his "Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border." Chalmers (Caledonia, vol. ii. p. 991) sneers

by the peasantry to be Newark Castle, which Sir Walter Scott denies, because that was always a royal fortress, and alleges on good authority that the unicorns and other insignia noticed in the ballad were on the old tower at Hangingshaw, now greatly demolished, a residence of the Murrays a few miles up the Vale of the Yarrow, in a romantic and solitary locality on the road to Yarrow parish church. One tradition in Etterick Forest states that the "Outlaw," who was often at deadly feud with the Scotts, was killed by Scott of Buccleuch, or some of his followers, on a mount covered with fir-trees near Newark Castle; and another is, that he was mortally wounded below the Castle with an arrow aimed by Scott of Haining from a ruinous cot-house on the opposite side of the Yarrow.¹

Newark Castle, which is a large square tower with flanking turrets and projecting battlements, has long ceased to be connected with any historical or remarkable incidents, and the descendants of the "Outlaw Murray" are quiet country proprietors of their patrimonial estate of Philiphaugh. The vicinity of Newark contains several localities of interest, which are enhanced by the profusely wooded Vale of the Yarrow, in its course by Hangingshaw, Broadmeadows, and Newark, from the upper pastoral and mountainous region of the lonely St. Mary's Loch. Nearly opposite Newark Castle is the farm-house of Fowlshiels, where Mungo Park was born, and his residence before his last expedition to Africa. Below Newark Castle and Bowhill is the entrance to the Vale of the Yarrow at the Carterhaugh, where the Etterick receives the tributary; and the united streams, passing the mansion of Philiphaugh and the town of Selkirk, enter the Tweed, under the name of Etterick, between Selkirk and Abbotsford.

Upwards of a mile from Selkirk, on the north side of the Etterick, is the plain of Philiphaugh, on which the Marquis of Montrose fought his last battle, and was entirely defeated by the Covenanting forces under General David Leslie on the 13th of September, 1645. Montrose, after his important victory at Kilsyth, resolved to enter England, and he expected to be joined in the Border counties by the Earls of Home, Roxburghe, and Traquair, who were rumoured to be favourable to the royal cause. He also expected a reinforcement of cavalry from the King under Lord Digby and Sir Marmaduke Langdale, who were totally routed in their advance through Yorkshire, while another body of horse raised by those leaders in Lancashire was dispersed near Carlisle. Montrose halted at Selkirk on the 12th of September, and occupied a tenement shown in the town. He quartered his cavalry in Selkirk, and encamped his infantry on Philiphaugh, not aware that General David Leslie was on the Borders from England, having crossed the Tweed, on the 6th of September, with an army of from 5000 to 6000 men, comprising the very best of the Scottish cavalry. In this army John Middleton, the future Earl of Middleton, held an important command under Leslie, and most efficiently aided in the defeat of the Royalists.

Montrose was surrounded with difficulties, in addition to those disasters in England, and others impending over him of which he was of necessity ignorant at the time, and a surprise by some thousands of men chiefly, if not altogether cavalry, was almost certain to be fatal. The Highlanders had left him after the victory of Kilsyth, with all the plunder they had secured; his Irish infantry were not more than from 500 to 700; his recent levies were peasants who scarcely knew the management of their horses; and the Ogilvies were only sufficient for his body-guard. His entire promiscuous and motley forces were little above 2000 men. The surrounding mountains and vales were enveloped in a dense fog, and as the peasantry were inclined to the Covenanting cause, they were not likely to report any intelligence to the Marquis, whom they refused to acknowledge as the King's Lieutenant. Unfortunately Montrose entrusted to others most essential duties which he usually discharged himself, such as the stationing of his horse patrols in proper quarters, and the sending forth of faithful scouts in every direction—matters arranged on this occasion by the captains of his horse. After entrenching his infantry on the plain of Philiphaugh, under the shelter of the Harehead-wood, on the north bank of the Etterick, which he considered sufficient protection against a sudden assault of cavalry, he continued most of the night at Selkirk in writing despatches to Charles I., which were to be sent at daybreak by a trusty messenger. Rumours, indeed, reached him of the approach of the Covenanting army, but the reply of the officers of the guard invariably

at the "frigid dulness" of the ballad, and in reference to the localities of the Forest which it mentions, the "brave Outlaw" and his "chivalrie," asserts that "the history of Selkirkshire, as it appears in

the chartularies, reprobates the fictitious follies of this 'Sang' as wholly unwarranted by facts."

¹ Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*, 4th edition, vol. i. pp. 82, 83. These statements, however, are mere conjectures.

was, that no cause of alarm existed. At dawn the scouts returned, declaring that they had examined every road and byepath, and that no enemy was within ten miles.

Leslie had advanced from Melrose on the evening of the 12th, and encamped under the protection of the thick mist within four miles of Selkirk. Before his approach was known in the morning he was less than half-a-mile from Philiphaugh, and his cavalry immediately attacked the Royalists, who were taken by surprise. As soon as he heard the firing, Montrose mounted the first horse he found, and galloped with his guard to the scene of action. The effect of his temporary absence was soon evident, as not an officer was in his place, or a lance mounted, when Leslie's trumpeters sounded the assault. The right wing of Montrose's infantry was opposing the full attack of the Covenanting cavalry, assisted by about one hundred and fifty mounted noblemen and gentlemen. Twice were the Covenanters repulsed with slaughter, yet these successes were of no avail. Leslie ordered two thousand of his cavalry, by an easy detour across the Etterick, to fall on the rear of this chivalrous band, who were sustaining in front the charge of nearly double that number. The defeat may be said to have been effected before Montrose appeared. His infantry, after assurance of quarter, threw down their arms. Montrose with about thirty cavaliers rallied his troopers, and repeatedly attacked the enemy, who surrounded him in masses, and his daring bravery caused the loss of more men than would otherwise have fallen. Imagining that he had no chance of escape, he resolved to die on the field, when his friends, especially the Marquis of Douglas, and Sir John Dalziel, brother of the Earl of Carnwath, forced a passage in a desperate charge while the Covenanters were preparing to plunder the baggage. They were followed by a party of the Covenanting cavalry led by Captain Bruce and two cornets, each carrying a standard. Montrose turned on them, and some of them fell. The Marquis and his few companions went up the Vale of Yarrow, and crossing the rough and mountainous tract of the Minchmoor, along the subsequent post road from the south, entered Peeblesshire, overtaking a party of their own cavalry who had sooner left the field. Sixteen miles from the scene of his defeat the Marquis first drew bridle, and halted at Traquair House. He requested to see the Earl of Traquair and his son Lord Linton, who were denied, though it was well known that both were in the mansion, and purposely avoided an interview.¹

It is said that a thousand of the Royalists fell at Philiphaugh, and at least one hundred of the Irish prisoners were shot by an ordinance of the English and Scottish Parliaments. Another authority states that comparatively few were slain in the battle, and scarcely any in the flight, and that the principal slaughter was of defenceless prisoners, particularly the Irish, after quarter had been granted. Close to Newark Castle is a field called the "Slain Man's Lee," where the Covenanters cruelly massacred many of their captives. Those of rank and importance were reserved for the public executioner.

It is curious that General David Leslie, who was voted 50,000 merks and a chain of gold for his services at Philiphaugh, was created in 1661 by the inconsistent Charles II. a peer by the title of Lord Newark.² Middleton, his minor colleague, received a grant of 25,000 merks, and was created Earl of Middleton in 1660. He died in disgrace or exile as Governor of Tangier in 1673.

The county town of Selkirk, which is built on rising ground overlooking the channel of the Yarrow, contains no remarkable object except the Town Hall, with its elegant spire one hundred and ten feet high. In front of the edifice is a statue of Sir Walter Scott on an isolated pedestal. David I. brought his colony of monks to Selkirk, who afterwards removed to the more inviting and congenial locality of St. Mary at Kelso. In 1309, Selkirk Castle, every vestige of which has disappeared, is noticed as a stronghold in possession of the English. The great event in the annals of the burgh is the battle of Flodden, to which disastrous field a number of the inhabitants, variously stated at eighty and one hundred, followed James IV.,

¹ Montrose and the Covenanters, by Mark Napier, Esq., Advocate, 8vo. 1838, vol. ii. pp. 467-477; Sir Walter Scott's *Minstrelsy of the Scottish Border*,—the Battle of Philiphaugh, vol. ii. pp. 15-32. The chief value of this ballad, in Sir Walter Scott's opinion, consists in the accuracy of its details. It has been long known in Selkirkshire.

² The title was derived, not from Newark on the Yarrow, the scene of Leslie's cruelties, but from another Newark, close to the fishing village of St. Monance in Fife—a now ruinous mansion which belonged to the family of Sandilands of Abercrombie and St. Monance, purchased from them by Leslie, in 1649. His Cavalier enemies, after his

elevation, sarcastically remarked, that instead of creating him Lord Newark, the King should have hanged him for his *auld wark*. This celebrated Covenanting General had fought, however, for Charles II. against Cromwell, who fined him 4000*l.*, and he was a prisoner in the Tower of London from 1651 to 1660. For these and other privations Lord Newark was also rewarded with an annual pension of 500*l.*, and, as his enemies continued to molest him for his "auld wark," he procured a letter from Charles II., in 1667, in which the king declared his entire satisfaction with his conduct and loyalty while he acted as Lieutenant-General in England and Scotland.

who knighted William Brydone, the town-clerk, whose descendants long resided in Selkirk. From that battle a very few returned, with a flag said to have been taken from the English, which is still preserved in the town. The lieges of Selkirk have been popularly known as "Souters," from the trade of shoemaking, or properly the manufacture of brogues—a covering for the feet with a single sole—having been extensively and almost exclusively practised by them. As a sobriquet it is applied to all the inhabitants of the quiet ancient rural burgh, who figure in the ballad—"Up with the Souters of Selkirk, and down with the Earl of Home," which has been applied to the battle of Flodden, and also ascribed to a wager more recently between the Homes and the Murrays of Philiphaugh, when the "Souters" supported the latter, and achieved the victory at a match of foot-ball. It is, however, denied that such a contest occurred; and though the Earldom of Home was not created till 1604, ninety years after the battle of Flodden, the ballad may refer to the bravery of the "Souters," and to Alexander, third Lord Home, who with the Earl of Huntly led the van of the Scottish army, dispersed the English who opposed him, and was one of the few who escaped. His father, Alexander, second Lord, who died in 1506, obtained a charter of the bailiary of Etterick Forest in January 1489-90, and his successors procured a grant of the crown lands of Tinnis Forest, some miles above Newark Castle on the north side of the Yarrow, in the direction of the rugged and elevated Minchmoor, and the Cat-Crag, in October 1512. Those grants would naturally cause frequent and irritating collisions between Lord Home and the "Souters," who would rejoice at his attainder and execution in 1516, more especially if his successors coveted the numerous acres of the common.¹ His second brother George was restored to the title and crown grant as fourth Lord in 1522, and with numerous other charters he obtained, in 1535 and 1538, two to the Forest of Tinnis in Etterick Forest.

The Vale of the Etterick, in the parish so called, resembles that of the Yarrow. The summits of the mountains are freely rounded, and covered with verdant turf, or in a few instances with heath. On the south side of a range of hills called the "Back-Bone of the County," the Etterick rises from among a small bed of rushes between Loch-Fell and Capel-Fell, two miles from Pottburn, said to be the highest farmhouse in the south of Scotland. After a course of probably thirty miles in a north-east direction nearly parallel with its tributary the Yarrow, the Etterick enters the Tweed between Sunderland Hall, near Selkirk, and Abbotsford.

In the Vale of the Etterick are several memorials of former times. Proceeding upwards from the confluence with the Yarrow at Carterhaugh, and opposite the woods of Bowhill, is Oakwood Tower, an alleged residence of the famous Wizard Michael Scott. Some miles farther is Deloraine, which designates a hill, a farm, and various localities.² The next object of interest is the ruinous Tower of Tushielaw, once the residence of a noted Border family of freebooters. Adam Scott of Tushielaw, whose power and depredations procured for him the sobriquets of "King of the Borders" and "King of Thieves," was convicted in the presence of James V. on the 18th of May, 1529, and sentenced to be beheaded, and two days after a similar punishment is recorded against William Cockburn of Henderland.³ The Scotts of Tushielaw were long renowned as moss-troopers, and are prominent in song, tradition, and crime.

The Etterick opposite Tushielaw receives the Rankleburn, which traverses a lonely vale formed by a dense mass of hills. In this vale—the theme of the ballad of the "Maid of Rankleburn"—are the two forlorn farm steadings of Easter and Wester Buccleuch, from which the noble family of Scott derive their titles of Dukes, Earls, and Barons of Buccleuch, and supposed to be a portion of their most ancient territorial possessions. It is at least certain that Rankleburn was a very early designation of the Scotts of Buccleuch. In a deep ravine near the road from these farms to Hawick, is the spot where "the buck in the clench was slain," which originated the name and title, if the rhyming tradition of Scott of Satchells is to be credited. Nearly two miles above Easter Buccleuch are the almost extinct vestiges of the chapel

¹ As a compensation for disasters inflicted on the "Souters" some years after the battle of Flodden they obtained a grant of one thousand acres adjoining their burgh to be held by the community for ever.—New Statistical Account of Scotland—Selkirkshire, p. 3.

² Deloraine gave the title of Earl to Lord Henry Scott, third and second surviving son of the Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch and the Duchess Anne, who was so ennobled in 1706, and the Earldom

became extinct at the death of his grandson, Henry, fourth Earl, without issue, in 1807.

³ The tradition in Etterick Forest is that Adam Scott was ordered by James V. to be hanged on an ash-tree before his own gate, on the principal branches of which were marks and hollows formed by the ropes by which the freebooter had suspended many an unfortunate captive. This is altogether unfounded, as Scott and Cockburn were decapitated at Edinburgh, and their heads spiked on the Tolbooth.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. i. Part I. pp. 144, 145.

in which, according to the same quaint authority, many of the ancient Barons of Buccleuch were interred. Such is an outline of the remote solitude which designates one of the most illustrious families in the British Empire.

Two miles beyond Tushielaw, on the north-west side of the Etterick, is the old Tower of Thirlestane, surrounded by a few venerable ash-trees. In the immediate vicinity is the modern mansion of Thirlestane, embosomed among woods, the seat of the Lords Napier, who represent the ancient family of the Scotts of Thirlestane, and the Napiers of Merchiston Castle at Edinburgh, immortalised by their great ancestor the "Marvellous Napier," the inventor of Logarithms. The noble family of Napier, elevated to the Baronetage and Peerage in 1627 in the person of Sir Archibald Napier, only son, by his first marriage, of the philosopher, are connected with Etterick Forest by their paternal descent from the Scotts of Thirlestane in 1703.¹ Francis, the only son of William and Elizabeth Napier, who succeeded his grandmother, and became the fifth Lord in 1706, though paternally Scott of Thirlestane, assumed the surname of Napier in terms of the new patent granted to Archibald, third Lord Napier in 1677, and was the great-grandfather of William John, eighth Lord, who was appointed Commissioner for regulating the trade with China, in which office he died in China in October 1834. His Lordship added to the modern mansion, which was commenced by his father, Francis, seventh Lord, and was conspicuous for his agricultural and sheep-farming improvements.² On the opposite side of the Etterick is the Tower of Gamescleuch, erected by Simon, called "Long Spear," second son of John Scott of Thirlestane, in the reign of Queen Mary or James VI.

In an old cottage at Etterick Hall, about a quarter of a mile from the parish church, was born James Hogg. Among the many contemporary notices of the "Etterick Shepherd," as he designated himself from his avocation as a shepherd, one of the most summary, in reference to his literary adventures as a self-taught individual, is in the Annual Register for 1835. Sir Walter Scott patronised him, and he has obtained a position in Lockhart's biography of that great man, who tolerated his eccentricities and coarse manners. Hogg died in the sixty-third year of his age at Altrive in the Vale of Yarrow, a short distance from his former farm residence of Mount Bengier, thirteen miles from Selkirk.

On the south side of the Tweed is the mansion of Ashiesteel. From 1792 to 1802 this beautifully situated mansion was the country residence of Sir Walter Scott, partly from choice, and partly in his official capacity as Sheriff of Selkirkshire. In this seat of his kinsman, Colonel William Russell, distinguished for military exploits in India, Sir Walter Scott commenced his brilliant literary career, and a hillock covered with trees, beneath the shade of which much of his poetry was written, is still known in the phraseology of the peasantry as the "Shirra's Knowe."

Farther up the Tweed, towards Innerleithen, is Elibank Tower, which gives the title of Baron to a branch of the family of Murray of Blackbarony, ennobled in 1643 in the person of Sir Patrick Murray, who had been created a Baronet in 1628, and who was the son of Sir Gideon Murray—a personage who held several high appointments in his time. This ruinous pile, which was either built or enlarged by Sir Gideon Murray on the lands of Eliburn, is situated amid wild and pastoral scenery, surrounded by green hills, and appears to have been a double tower, with subordinate buildings, and a terraced garden on the south and west sides. Sir Gideon Murray, whose public and official transactions are curious, died in 1621, of grief at a false charge of "abusing his office of Treasurer Depute to the prejudice of the King," which was preferred against him by James Stewart, designated Lord Ochiltree, and was interred in the Chapel-Royal of Holyrood at Edinburgh.³

¹ Francis, fifth Lord Napier, whose mother, Elizabeth, daughter of Elizabeth, Baroness Napier, married William, son of Sir Francis Scott, Baronet, of Thirlestane, inherited that title, which was created in 1666, and his successors are also Baronets of Nova Scotia of that date, but the Baronetcy of 1627 is possessed by the Napiers of Milliken House in Renfrewshire.

² In 1822, Lord Napier published a "Treatise on Practical Store-Farming as applicable to the Mountainous Region of Etterick Forest and the Pastoral Part of Scotland in general," which attracted considerable notice, and his Lordship's suggestions were followed by beneficial results.

³ Sir Gideon Murray was imprisoned some time in Edinburgh Castle on a charge of manslaughter or murder, and after his "remission," or pardon, he acted as chamberlain to his relative, Sir Walter

Scott of Buccleuch, who had retired to France about 1596, in obedience to the royal mandate, and avoided any connexion with the disturbances of the turbulent Earl of Bothwell, who had presumed to calculate on his assistance. While residing in Elibank Tower, Sir Gideon Murray engaged in a feud with the Scotts of Harden, who then possessed Oakwood Tower on the Etterick. Sir Walter Scott, their descendant, relates a curious traditionary story connected with this feud, asserting that it "is established in both families, and often jocularly referred to upon the Borders." The son of Scott of Harden had prepared an expedition against the Murrays, their ancient enemies, and as their possessions were contiguous, they were at no loss for opportunities to exercise their hostility. Young Harden was defeated and secured by the Murrays while driving off their cattle. He was conducted a prisoner to Elibank Tower, and Sir Gideon's lady, whose



GLUCKE TOWER.

From an Original Drawing by G. Colton.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

His descendants soon deserted Elibank Tower, which fell to ruin—a memorial of the rude masonry and ferocity of the times of the construction.

The inhabitants of "The Forest" were long and still are a peculiar people. For centuries they were in bondage as serfs, and completely at the mercy of the owners of the fortalices, who were their masters. Many years after the Union their information, such as it was, rarely extended beyond the limits of their own district and their immediate neighbours and relatives. About 1750 not a cart was employed, and manure for the fields and peats from the hills for fuel were conveyed in creels on the backs of horses. The store-farmers removed their flocks into Annandale for winter shelter and pasturage, and the black-faced sheep, the wool of which was of the coarsest kind, and of little manufacturing value, were the principal occupants of the mountains and "walks." The Cheviots, or white-faced, are now preferred, but the introduction of this breed was not effected without difficulty, of which numerous amusing stories, illustrating the credulity, ignorance, and superstition of the peasantry, are recorded.

GILNOCKIE TOWER.

In the parish of Canonbie, which is traversed by the Esk in its course to the Solway Frith, and receives numerous tributaries, is a small promontory encircled on three sides by the river, and known as Gilnockie, from which a noted Border freebooter is supposed to have derived a kind of territorial designation. The roofless tower resembles those throughout the district, and the chief attraction is the romantic scenery in the Vale of the Esk in the vicinity. The site is steep and rocky, and is of difficult access except on the land side, which was protected by a ditch. Gilnockie Tower, called from its situation the Hollows, or Hollows House Tower, a few miles below Langholm, is near the eastward of Hollows Bridge, and is an oblong square, about sixty feet in front length and upwards of forty-six feet in breadth. On each side of the east and west angles are two round turrets with loopholes. The structure, which is at least seventy feet high, is of red sandstone, and was evidently of considerable strength as a Border stronghold. The natural beauty of the situation can scarcely be excelled.

John or "Johnnie" Armstrong, as he is familiarly designated in ballad and local tradition, the proprietor, or resident in, Gilnockie Tower, or the Hollows, lived in the reign of James V., and was a brother of Armstrong of Mangerton. He was one of the leaders of a numerous Border race of his name, and at the head of a daring band of moss-troopers levied "black-mail," or "protection money," many miles round the Vale of the Esk. The terror of this freebooter was felt even at Newcastle, and his contributions were exacted from the counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, part of Northumberland, and generally throughout the West Marches of England. His influence was such that he utterly defied the authority of the Crown, and the complaints against him from the English Borders were importunate and furious. In 1528, James V., who thoroughly disliked the Border leaders for their turbulence and oppression, advanced into their districts under the pretence of hunting, though in reality to repress and punish the aggressors. Armstrong was summoned to appear before the monarch, and his evil genius, or the advice of some designing courtiers, induced him to obey in all the parade of local chivalry, attended by thirty-six horsemen. It is said that Armstrong was aware of his enormities, yet his position induced him to expect favour from a sovereign who had resolved to "danton the thieves of Teviotdale, Annandale, Liddesdale, and other parts of the country," and who had

name was Margaret Pentland, was anxious to know the intended punishment. Sir Gideon announced that he intended to hang him,— "To the gallows," he exclaimed, "with the invader!" "Hoot no, Sir Gideon," answered the considerate matron in her native vernacular, "would you hang the winsome young Laird of Harden while ye hae three ill-favoured daughters to marry?" "Right," said Sir Gideon; "he shall either marry our daughter, muckle-mouthed Meg, or strap for it." When the alternative was proposed to the captive, he at first preferred the gibbet to "muckle-mouthed Meg,"—the sobriquet of the young lady, whose name was Agnes, and only one daughter is mentioned in the Peerage accounts. Young Harden was led forth to

execution, and having no chance of escape he retracted his ungallant resolution. The lady and her compulsory husband were a loving and happy couple, and had a large family. Four sons are mentioned, to each of whom Sir William Scott of Harden bequeathed good estates, viz., Sir William, who carried on the line of the family; Sir Gideon Scott of Highchester, whose son was created Earl of Tarras, for life only, at his marriage to Mary, Countess of Buccleuch, elder sister of the future Duchess Anne, of which juvenile union was no issue; Walter Scott of Raeburn, from whom the Author of Waverley was descended; and John Scott, ancestor of the Scotts of Woolf.

previously executed Cockburn of Henderland, and Scott of Tushielaw, the "King of the Borders," besides committing many other dangerous persons to ward or prison.

The reception of Armstrong by the King is minutely recorded by a quaint writer, and has been often cited. As already observed, he was attended by thirty-six horsemen "richly apparelled, trusting that, in respect of the free offer of his person, he should obtain the King's favour. But the King, seeing him and his men so gorgeous in their apparel, with so many brave men under a tyrant's commandment, frowardly turning him about, he bade take the tyrant out of his sight, saying—'What wants that knave that a King should have?' But John Armstrong made great offers to the King—that he should sustain himself with forty gentlemen ever ready at his service, on their own cost, without wronging any Scottish man—that there was not a subject in England, Duke, Earl, or Baron, but within a certain day he would bring him to his Majesty either quick or dead. At length, seeing no hope of favour, he said very proudly—'If I had known this, I would have lived on the Borders in despite of King Harry and you both, for I know King Harry would downweigh my best horse with gold, to know that I were condemned to die this day.'"¹

This writer carefully notices that the unfortunate Laird of Gilnockie was "heavily lamented, for he was the most redoubted chieftain that had been for a long time on the Borders either of Scotland or England," and that he "never molested any Scottish man,"—a statement which may be doubted. The locality at which Armstrong and his followers were silenced is at Caerlanrig Chapel, about ten miles above Hawick on the road to Langholm, and they were interred in a sequestered burial-place, in which their graves are still shown. The peasantry of the district venerate the memory of the Laird of Gilnockie, and maintain that the trees on which he and his followers were executed immediately decayed. It is also asserted that one of Armstrong's attendants escaped by the strength and swiftness of his horse, forcing a passage through the King's assemblage, and conveying the tidings to Gilnockie Tower. In the reign of James VI. the Armstrongs were finally suppressed, their leaders brought to the scaffold, their strongholds destroyed, and their extensive possessions forfeited, and transferred to strangers. It is probable, however, that the leaders of this once ancient and powerful Border sept never had any legal rights to the lands they occupied as independent and unscrupulous freebooters, even admitting that the celebrated Gilnockie "never molested any Scottish man."²

One of the descendants of the Laird of Gilnockie, who followed the marauding avocation in a limited way, kidnapped Sir Alexander Gibson of Durie, a judge in the Court of Session from 1621 to his death, in 1644. He seized the judge while riding on Leith Sands, and conveyed him blindfolded to Graham's Tower, an old castle in Annandale, in which he secretly immured him three months. This bold stratagem was to promote the interest of the first Earl of Traquair, who was seriously connected with a lawsuit before the Supreme Court, the decision of which his Lordship feared would be unfavourable to his interest by the casting vote of Lord Durie, who was then acting as Lord President. As a contrast to this bold and daring abduction, the extraordinary nature of which induced Lord Durie's friends to consider him defunct, Sir Walter Scott mentions that another descendant of Gilnockie was in his time the landlord of the Tower Inn in Hawick, and, "instead of his ancestor's perilous marauding achievements, levied contributions upon the public in that humbler character."³ On the banks of the Liddell, some distance from Penton Linns, are the ruins of Harelaw Tower, the residence of Hector Armstrong, who, by the bribery of the Regent Moray betrayed Thomas Percy, Earl of Northumberland, who had fled to Harelaw Tower for protection, and was treated for some time with confidence and regard. Moray delivered the Earl to Queen Elizabeth, by whom he was consigned to the scaffold, at York, in August, 1572. It is recorded that this Armstrong, soon after his treachery, fell into poverty and disgrace, and was the origin of the Border proverb, as applied to any one who betrayed his friend or guest, that he had "put on Hector of Harelaw's coat."⁴

¹ History of Scotland from February, 1436 to March, 1565, by Robert Lindsay of Pitscottie, folio, 1728, pp. 145, 146.

² The fate of Gilnockie is noticed by Sir David Lindsay, Buchanan, and other writers of that age. In the "Complaynt of Scotland" John Armstrong's "dance" is mentioned as a popular tune—the said "dance" meaning his execution. The ballad of "Johnie Armstrong"

was first published in 1724, in the "Evergreen," by Allan Ramsay, who avers that he wrote it from the recital of a gentleman named Armstrong, who was the sixth in lineal descent from Gilnockie.

³ Sir Walter Scott's Border Antiquities, 4to., 1817, vol. ii. pp. 201, 202.

⁴ New Statistical Account of Scotland—Dumfriesshire, p. 489.



CULZEAN CASTLE.

From an Original Drawing by W. P. Lockhart.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

CULZEAN CASTLE—DUNURE—THE KENNEDYS.

THIS grand edifice, or rather series of castellated buildings, sometimes written Colzean and Cullean, the seat of the Earls of Cassillis in the peerage of Scotland, created Marquises of Ailsa in the Peerage of the United Kingdom, in 1831, was commenced by David, tenth Earl of Cassillis, in 1777, from a design by Robert Adam. This mansion is situated on the summit of a perpendicular basaltic cliff projecting into the sea one hundred feet in height, and is remarkable for the magnificence and solidity of the architecture. The whole buildings, including the approach, cover four acres, and the principal apartments command splendid views of the Frith of Clyde and the stupendous Ailsa Crag. On the land side below the Castle are the gardens of the old mansion of Culzean, formed into three terraces, and the "policy" includes about seven hundred acres, ornamented by fine old trees and thriving plantations.¹

Near Culzean Castle, and below some parts of the fabric, are six caves, known as the Coves of Culzean. The largest of the three towards the west is entered at high-water mark; the roof is about fifty feet in height, and extending inwards, with varying breadth, probably two hundred feet. This cave communicates with the other two, which are considerably less, and of a similar irregular form. The entrance is by a door built of freestone, three feet above which are a window and an apartment commanding the access. The three eastward caves are each nearly of the same dimensions and appearance, and all were evidently from time to time inhabited as secure fastnesses inaccessible to assailants. The want of supplies only could have compelled the occupants to surrender.

The noble family of Kennedy, Earls of Cassillis, have been for centuries connected with the Carrick district of Ayrshire. The Kennedys were the aboriginal inhabitants of Carrick; and previous to his death, in 1256, Neil, Earl of Carrick, grandson of Fergus, Lord of Galloway, granted a charter in favour of their ancestor Roland, in which he is declared the head or chief of his race.² Alexander III. confirmed this charter on the 20th of January, 1275-6, and it was ratified by Robert II., on the first of October, 1372. After that grant the family assumed the name of Kennedy, which they derived from Kenneth, an alleged Thane of Carrick. The Kennedys became eventually so powerful as to be the terror of the district, and committed many barbarous, cruel, and oppressive acts in defiance of the Government. The sobriquet of Gilbert, Earl of Cassillis, and some of his successors was "King of Carrick," as expressing the almost boundless power which they exercised over the inhabitants of those districts unhappily under their heritable jurisdiction.³ It would be out of place in this sketch to furnish an outline of the genealogy of this family. Their original settlement seems to have been Dunure, and they date from the said Kenneth, styled Thane of Carrick, who was one of the "captains" of the fabulous King Gregory, though they claim relationship to three previous monarchs who were called Kenneth. This Captain or Thane distinguished himself in the estimation of King Gregory by "rolling down stanes from ane high hill," by which exploit he "wan ane grit battell to King Gregorie." The "Black Book of Scone" locates the founder of the family in the reign of Malcolm II., who was crowned in 1010, and links them with a Mackinnon of the Isles, who and his successors were much engaged in warfare with the Danes. One of those Mackinnons, after the battle of Largs, in which the Danish King Haco was defeated in August 1263,

¹ The former mansion of Culzean is thus described—"The Cove is the Laird of Colain's mansion-house, standing upon a rock above the sea, flanked on the south with very pretty gardens and orchards, adorned with excellent terraces,"—Description of Carrick, by Mr. William Abercrombie, Minister at Maybole, *apud* Pitcairn's Historical Memoirs of the Kennedys, p. 168.

² Historical and Genealogical Account of the Principal Families of the Name of Kennedy, by Robert Pitcairn, W.S., 4to. 1830, pp. 75, 76.

³ The power of the Kennedys was long expressed in a local rhyme which Sir Walter Scott preserved from tradition; and it is to this effect—

"Twixt Wigton and the town of Ayr,
Portpatrick and the Cruives of Cree,
No man need think for to bide there
Unless he court Saint Kennedie."

The older version, however, is probably more significant, and is as follows—

"Twixt Wigtonne and the town of Aire,
And laigh down by the Cruives of Cree,
Ye shall not get a lodging there
Except ye court a Kennedy."

"As to the civil jurisdiction of this country," says a local writer, "it is a bailiary, and belongs heritably to the Earl of Cassillis, who exercises his power by a depute, and has the privilege to appoint his own clerk.—The offices of depute or clerk are advantageous posts to any the Earl bestows them upon, for by the plenty of wood and water in this country, which tempt men to cut stob or wattles for necessary uses, they find a way yearly to levy fines for cutting of green wood, and killing fry or fish in prohibite times, that makes a revenue to their offices, and is a constant tax upon the people."—Description of Carrick, by Mr. William Abercrombie, Minister at Maybole, *apud* Pitcairn's Historical Memoirs of the Kennedys, p. 174.

sheltered himself, with his sons, in "ane craig in Carrick, whereon was ane strength buildit by the Danes low, by the sea-syde," the captain of which the said Mackinnon and his sons killed, and was rewarded by a grant of the "strength" with "certain lands lying thereto," and this was the "first beginning of the name of Kennedy in the mainland. On the strength and craig is now ane fair castle, which the chief of the Lowland Kennedys took their style from for ane long space, and were called Lairds of Dunure, because of the don of the hill above that house. This house remained ane lang tyme in sober estate, not having great rent, nor commandment of the country, for we hear no mention of them in Wallace's days, nor the Bruce's time."¹

It is said that the original name of the Kennedys was Carrick, which they relinquished in the thirteenth century. Sir John Kennedy of Dunure, who was a personage of great local note in the fourteenth century, had three sons, the second of whom, called John, is the assumed ancestor of the Kennedys of Culzean. Sir Gilbert, the eldest son, married Marion, daughter of Sir James Sandilands of Calder, and after her decease Agnes, daughter of Sir Robert Maxwell of Calderwood. Gilbert, the eldest son, was disinherited by his father, and the reason assigned is thus quaintly narrated,—“King James the First sent ane of his dochters to this Laird of Dunure to foster, wha remanit with him till she was ane woman, at the quhilk time the lady's awin sone having mair credeitt in his moderes house nor her step-sone, he being in luiff with this young lady, gets her with bairn, and the King her fader, offendit thereat, could find no better way nor to cause him to marie her.” It would be tedious to trace the authenticity or probability of this statement in reference to one of the five daughters of James I., and it may suffice that Sir James Kennedy of Dunure, who was killed by his disinherited brother, married Mary, second daughter of Robert III., father of James I., and widow of George, first Earl of Angus, of the Douglas family. The issue of this alliance were Gilbert, created Lord Kennedy about 1452, or at least before 1457, and the illustrious James Kennedy, successively Bishop of Dunkeld and St. Andrews. David, third Lord Kennedy, grandson of the first Lord, was created Earl of Cassillis in 1510, and fell with his relative James III. at Flodden. Gilbert, the second Earl, was killed by the retainers of Hugh Campbell of Loudon, sheriff of Ayr, on the sands of Prestwick, in December 1527. He was succeeded by his son Gilbert, described as “ane wonder wyse man,” whose third son, Sir Thomas, became “Tutor” and Laird of Culzean at the death of his elder brother, David.

It would be tedious to enumerate all the atrocities committed by the Kennedys, and their numerous feuds are prominent in the criminal records. Gilbert, fourth Earl of Cassillis, who succeeded his father in 1558, and died in December 1576, was one of the most unprincipled men of his time. He is described as “very greedy,” and “cared nocht how he got land so that he culd come by the same.” This Earl trafficked with the Abbot of Glenluce to obtain a perpetual lease of the lands of that Abbey, and the death of the Abbot only prevented the alienation. Not to be disappointed, he induced one of the Monks to counterfeit the signatures of the deceased Abbot and of the members of the convent, and having secured the document, he ordered his guilty dupe to be hanged on a charge of theft. His treatment of Alan Stewart, Abbot or Commendator of Crossraguel, was another of his crimes. This act of barbarity, which consisted in literally roasting the Abbot before a fire on the 1st and 7th days of September, 1570, in the Black Vaults of Dunure, is well known in Scottish history. Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, “Tutor” of Cassillis, the Earl's uncle, who was afterwards murdered at the instigation of Mure of Auchindrane, on the 11th of May, 1602, was deeply implicated in this horrible violence inflicted by the avarice of the “King of Carrick.”

John, eighth Earl of Cassillis, who was born in 1700, and died in August 1759, married his cousin-german Lady Susan Hamilton, by whom he had no issue. In March of the latter year, while his Countess was enjoying herself at a dancing party, he privately made a strictly entailed settlement in favour of Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, Bart., descended from Sir Thomas Kennedy, second son of Gilbert, third Earl of Cassillis, and who, it is previously noticed, fell a victim to the revenge of Mure of Auchindrane.² This deed of the

¹ “This country (Carrick) is the ancient seat of the Kennedys, whose principal dwelling was the Castle of Dunure, standing on the sea-syde, on a rockie shoar, in the parish of Mayboll, and gives designation to a barony lying round about it; but this being wholly ruined, their chief mansion is the House of Cassillis, standing upon a high ground, on the south syde of the river Dun (Doon), having the Wood of Dalrimple opposite to it, on the other syde, in Kyle, which gives it a very agreeable prospect of wood and water. The house, in the body of it, is very high, having a fine stone stair turning about a hollow

easement, in which there are many opens from the bottom to the top, that by putting a lamp into it, gives light to the whole turn of stairs.” It is also stated—“The Cove is the Laird of Colain's mansion-house, standing upon a rock above the sea, flanked on the south with very pretty gardens and orchards.”—Mr. William Abercrombie's Description of Carrick, in Piteairn's Account of the Kennedys, 4to. p. 168.

² John, fifth Earl of Cassillis, who succeeded his father Gilbert, fourth Earl, in 1576, subscribed a bond to pay 1200 merks annually to his brother Hugh Kennedy, commonly called the Master of Cassillis,



DUNROBIN CASTLE

From an Original Drawing by J. D. Harding

JOHN G. MURDOCH, LONDON



U.S.A. GRACIE

From an Original Drawing by C. Hanford A.A.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

eightth Earl in favour of the then Baronet of Culzean, as the nearest heir male of the family, originated a law process between the said Baronet and William, Earl of March and Rutherglen, grandson of Lady Anne Kennedy, the daughter of John, seventh Earl of Cassillis. This nobleman, who assumed the title of Earl of Cassillis, was opposed by Sir Thomas Kennedy, who claimed under the entail of 29th March, 1759, and was served heir to the eighth Earl. The House of Lords decided in his favour in 1762, and he succeeded as ninth Earl of Cassillis, obtaining possession of the extensive estates. He was never married, and died at the old mansion of Culzean on the 30th of November, 1775. His brother David, who also died a bachelor at Culzean Castle, on the 18th of December, 1792, succeeded as tenth Earl, and the eleventh Earl was Archibald, descended from Alexander Kennedy of Craigoch, second son of Sir Alexander Kennedy of Culzean, the son of Sir Thomas Kennedy, murdered at the instance of Mure of Auchindraine. It may be noticed that Mure and his son were convicted and executed for their crimes in 1611, and their career is the subject of a drama by Sir Walter Scott, entitled "*Auchindrane, or the Ayrshire Tragedy.*"¹

AILSA.

THE stupendous insulated rock of Ailsa, between the shores of Ayrshire and Cantyre in Argyllshire, is about eight miles from the nearest point of the Ayrshire coast, and is generally considered as belonging to the parish of Dailly, as it is included in the Barony of Knockgerran, which is the property of the Earl of Cassillis, now Marquis of Ailsa. This huge mass, probably two miles in circumference at the base, and rising to a height variously stated at 1140, 1100, and 1008 feet above the level of the sea, is of a conical appearance when seen from the north or south, and the summit is covered with heath and grass. Ailsa is precipitous on all sides, and is only accessible on the east or south-east, at a small beach formed by the accumulation of *débris*. The cliffs in many places are columnar, and the western side rises perpendicularly from the ocean. Ailsa occupies the same position at the entrance to the Frith of Clyde from the Atlantic as does the Bass at the entrance to the Frith of Forth from the German Ocean, both appearing like vast solitary sentinels, or memorials of a former world, rising abruptly from the deep, and displaying their immense forms as if to show the wonderful operations of nature.

Ailsa, sometimes designated the "Perch of Clyde," is a remarkable object at sea. It is visible from an extraordinary distance, and appears as if defying the billows which have dashed against its dark sides thousands of years. A close inspection and examination increase the awe felt by the sight of this summit of an extraordinary submarine mountain. The world contains many remarkable objects which cannot be adequately described, and Ailsa, like the Bass, Skye, and Staffa, is one of them. Around, hovering over, and clinging to its sides, are myriads of wild sea-fowl, which almost darken the atmosphere when on the wing, uttering the most discordant sounds and screechings. From the landing-place a comparatively easy ascent of two hundred feet leads to the ruins of a square building, said to have been erected by Philip II. of Spain—a circumstance very improbable as it respects that monarch. As Ailsa could not be excelled as a prison for silencing feudal enemies, as its sea-fowl could tell no tales, and the roaring Atlantic beneath would soon close over those who were precipitated into the abyss from the cliffs, it is more probable that this is the memorial of an erection by the powerful family of Kennedy as a prison for those who fell into their hands. It is also conjectured that this ruin may indicate an eremite residence depending on Lamlash in Arran, and it is stated that in this island are the "ruines of ane old castle and chapel possessed by the Earls of Cassillis, who hold the same off the Abbey of Corsregall."² Above this ruin the ascent is extremely laborious over pieces of broken rocks and large nettles. Near the summit are two copious springs of excellent water.

Though many a dark deed has doubtless been perpetrated on Ailsa, of which the world knows nothing,

and his accomplices, the payment of which was to commence from their taking the life of the Laird of Auchindraine. The bond is dated Maybole, 3d September, 1602. The two brothers for years previously had been on terms of personal hostility, and their mutual friends succeeded, by this murder of their granduncle, to effect a permanent reconciliation.—Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. p. 622.

¹ All the documents connected with the murder of Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, and the trial of the Mures of Auchindraine, are printed in Pitcairn's Criminal Trials, vol. iii. pp. 124–182.

² Sir James Balfour's Collection on the several Shores, with Additions by Sir Robert Sibbald, in Pitcairn's Genealogical Account of the Family of Kennedy, 4to. p. 189.

this "craggy ocean pyramid" is not conspicuous in history, and in this respect the "Perch of Clyde" differs from the Bass. The accounts are almost exclusively confined to the appearance and geological details. Dr. Macculloch says that "if a single pillar be examined near at hand, it will be found far less decided in shape than those of Staffa or Skye, while the whole mass appears as if blended together, and not as if each column could be separated; but when viewed in the mass, the general effect of a columnar and regular structure is as perfect as on the north coast of Skye." The diameter of the columns far exceeds those of Skye, ranging from six to nine feet, and in one place attaining an unbroken altitude of four hundred feet, thus affording the largest specimens of columnar basalt known, and exceeding by nearly one hundred feet those of the Fair-Head at the Giant's Causeway. According to the same authority, "nothing can exceed the magnificence of the columnar wall on this side of the rock, and even the high faces of Staffa sink into insignificance on a comparison with the enormous elevation and dimensions of Ailsa. He is an incurious geologist, or a feeble admirer of Nature, who is content to pass Ailsa unseen. The rock is traversed in various parts by large veins of greenstone or basalt. The whole of the island consists of one substance, in which slight differences of appearance here and there occur, but are unworthy of particular notice, and scarcely sufficient to constitute a variety. What Ailsa promises at a distance it far more than performs on a nearer acquaintance. If it has not the regularity of Staffa, it exceeds that island as much in grandeur and variety as it does in absolute bulk. Those who are only desirous of viewing one example of that romantic and wonderful scenery, which forms the chief attraction of the more distant islands, will be pleased to know that within a day's sail of Greenock, and without trouble, they may see what cannot be eclipsed by Staffa, or Mull, or Skye, if even it can be equalled by any of them."

ROTHESAY CASTLE.

THE ruins of Rothesay Castle, sometimes designated Bute Castle, are immediately adjoining the pleasant and thriving royal burgh of its name, the chief town of the Island of Bute in the Frith of Clyde, at the head of Rothesay Bay, on the north-east side of the Island. The Castle, which originated the town clustering near its walls for protection, is supposed to have been erected or commenced about 1098 by Magnus Baerfaet, or Barefoot, King of Norway, who subjugated the Isles in 1093, and was slain in an expedition against Ulster in 1103. It would be tedious to detail the history of the ancient kingdom of The Isles, of which Bute was an appendage. The date of the ruin of that kingdom is alleged to be 1156, when Goderick the Black nominally ceded the sovereignty to the sons of Somerled of Argyll, the founder of the great family of the Macdonalds, Lords of the Isles, and whose origin is involved in all the obscurity of Celtic tradition. By this treaty the Islands of Bute, Arran, Isla, Jura, Mull, several smaller islands, and the Argyllshire district of Kintyre, which by a stratagem of Magnus Barefoot, who practised a deception on Malcolm Canmore, by causing himself to be drawn in a galley across the narrow isthmus between Kintyre and Knapdale, was for centuries classed among the South Isles.

Before the reign of Alexander III., which commenced in 1249, Rothesay Castle, such as the fabric then was in its rude and insignificant condition, is said to have been the residence and property of a family named MacRoderick, or MacRuari, descended from Reginald MacSomerled, King of the Isles, the son of Somerled, and ancestor of the MacRuaries of the North Isles. Somerled is said to have been killed in 1164, while meditating a conquest of the whole of Scotland. The first territorial influence which the Scottish monarchs acquired in The Isles, in opposition to the sway of Norway, was soon after the death of Somerled, when Walter, High Steward of Scotland, seized the Island of Bute, which thus became one of the earliest possessions of the Royal House of Stuart. Angus MacSomerled, supposed to have been Lord of Bute, and his three sons, were killed in 1210, and James, one of those sons, left a daughter and heiress named Jane, who married Alexander, son and heir of Walter the High Steward, and in her right claimed the Island of Bute, and probably Arran.¹ This matrimonial alliance strengthened the

¹ "Alexander, High Steward of Scotland, was born 1214. He married Jean, daughter and heir to James, son to Angus Macrory or Roderick, Lord of Bute, descended of his own family, says Abercromby, so that probably the Isle of Bute was given by Walter [the first High Steward] in patrimony to one of his younger sons, and his posterity, to be held of the High Steward."—Stewart's Historical and Genealogical Account of the Royal Family of Scotland, 4to, 1739, pp. 45, 49, 50.



RUSSAY CASTLE, ISLAND OF RUSSAY.

From an Original Drawing by E. Stanfield, R.A.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

claims of the family of the High Steward, who eventually obtained possession by the expulsion of the MacRuaries.

The first prominent notice of Rothesay Castle occurs in 1228, in the reign of Alexander II., when it was assaulted by Olive, surnamed the "Black" King of Man and the Isles, one of three of the race of Somerled so designated. He was assisted by a Norwegian chief named Husbac, and he possessed an aggressive fleet of eighty galleys. The Castle was secured by mining the walls, with the loss of nearly four hundred men. After the battle of Largs, which was fought on the 2d of October, 1263, between Alexander III. and Haco, King of Norway, to contest the sovereignty of the Hebrides, the Castle of Rothesay was retaken by the Scottish forces. The English were in possession during the brief and disastrous reign of John Baliol, and in 1311 it is said to have been recovered by King Robert Bruce—a statement doubted by a competent authority, who conjectures that a fortress in Galloway, probably Buittle, which belonged to Baliol's family, is indicated by Fordun in his notice of the "*Castrum de Botha*," or "*de Bute*."¹ The subsequent annals of Rothesay Castle can be easily recorded. In 1334 the Fortress was repaired by the partizans of Edward Baliol in the reign of David II., and not long afterwards it was captured by his nephew, Robert II., who succeeded him in 1370, and who, while High Steward of Scotland, was appointed to the Regency at the death of Sir Andrew Moray in 1338. Robert II. resided in Rothesay Castle in 1376 and 1381, and evidently rebuilt a great part of the fabric, which was now considered a royal palace and a military fortress. Robert III. died of grief within the walls in 1406, at the intelligence of the capture by the English of his son and successor, James I.² In 1475, John, Earl of Ross and Lord of the Isles, was cited by the Parliament for besieging Rothesay Castle, and other exploits.³ On the 24th of January, 1526–7, the Master of Ruthven obtained a "remission" or pardon for attacking the Castle and burning the town.⁴ In 1544 the Earl of Lennox, who entered the Clyde with an English armament, proceeded from Arran to Bute, of which, with Rothesay Castle, he easily obtained possession. Little occurs in the history of this occasional residence of royalty till the time of Cromwell, whose troops cannonaded the walls. The fabric was rendered an utter and irretrievable ruin in 1685 by the brother of the Earl of Argyll. This person destroyed the edifice by fire, and it was left to moulder in decay. The ravages committed by the eighth Earl of Argyll indicate his peculiar hatred to the inhabitants of Bute. The trial, in 1661, of this hero of the Presbyterian Covenanted martyrology, who had been created Marquis of Argyll by Charles I. in 1641, details numerous murders perpetrated by the command of Argyll at Dunoon, opposite Bute. One of the victims was the Provost of Rothesay, who was shot thrice through the body, and finding him still alive, they stabbed him with their dirks and other weapons, and cut his throat. Others were thrown into holes, and covered with earth to prevent their cries.⁵ Women and children were also murdered by those savage followers of the Covenanted Argyll, and if only a small part of the charges against him is true, he well deserved his fate at the Cross of Edinburgh in May 1661.

The ruins of Rothesay Castle consist of ponderous masses of dingy red stones, and the embellishment of some imposing ash-trees renders the desolation of this memorial of antiquity more observable, dispelling all the ideas usually associated with a palace. It is appropriately remarked that "as a piece of fortification, even on the ancient principles, it is wretched, and argues very little in favour of the military knowledge displayed in the erection. The gate is neither flanked nor machicolated, and it might have been mined or assaulted at almost every point." As now existing, the ruins form a circular court one hundred and forty feet in diameter, the walls high and thick. On four flanks are round towers, between two of which, on the north-east side, is a projecting structure ascribed to Robert II. The walls are profusely overgrown with ivy, and nourish tenaciously adhering trees and shrubs. John, fourth Earl and first

¹ *Annals of Scotland*, by Sir David Dalrymple, Bart., Lord Hailes, 4to. vol. ii. pp. 36, 37. This conjecture is supported by the fact that in 1311 King Robert Bruce was in that part of Scotland, and expelled the English from Dumfries, Dalswinton, and other fortresses.

² Sir James Balfour records—"King Robert the Third, hearing of the taking of his only son James by the English, when at supper in his Castle of Rothesay in the Isle of Bute, was so surprised with grief and sorrow of heart, that he expired within four hours thereafter, on

the 4th day of April, Palm Sunday, in the sixteenth year of his reign, and was solemnly interred at Paisley Abbey."—*Annals of Scotland*, vol. iv. pp. 143, 144. The detention of James I. by the English monarch was disastrous to Scotland.

³ *Acta Parl. Scot.* folio, vol. ii. p. 109.

⁴ *Pitcairn's Criminal Trials*, vol. i. Part I., p. 240.

⁵ *Ibid.* vol. iii. p. 199.

Marquis of Bute, renovated the interior, and the supposed crections of Robert II. are now easily accessible.

Sir John Stuart the "Black," a son of Robert II., and said to have been one of his many illegitimate offspring, obtained a grant of property in the Island of Bute, and the hereditary Sheriffship of his father's patrimony conjoined with Arran, which was confirmed, in November 1400, by Robert III. His grandson Ninian was appointed Keeper of Rothesay Castle, with a salary of eighty merks, in August 1498. John, the son of Ninian, was infefted as Hereditary Constable of the fabric in March 1509. James, his great-grandson, created a Baronet of Nova Scotia in 1627, garrisoned his residence of Rothesay Castle at his own expense, and was appointed Lieutenant of the West of Scotland by Charles I. at the commencement of the Covenanted rebellion. After many privations, and flight to Ireland to avoid imprisonment, he was allowed to recover possession by the payment of five thousand merks, inflicted as a fine by the Covenanted Parliament in 1646. Cromwell's troops seized and occupied Rothesay Castle in 1651, and Sir James Stuart was divested of his hereditary office of sheriff, declared incapable of any public trust, and otherwise severely treated for his loyalty. He died in 1662, and was succeeded by his son Sir Dugald Stuart, who died in 1672. Sir James, son of Sir Dugald, created Earl of Bute in 1703, and interred at Rothesay in 1710, was apparently the last inhabitant of the Castle. His grandson John, third Earl, the celebrated Premier of Great Britain in 1762 and 1763, and conspicuous in the "Letters of Junius," was the father of John fourth Earl, who succeeded in 1792, was created Marquis of Bute in the Peerage of the United Kingdom in 1796, and his successors, who were also Earls of Dumfries, are Hereditary Keepers of Rothesay Castle. Their mansion of Mount-Stuart, a plain edifice, erected by James, second Earl, in 1718, four miles south-east of the burgh of Rothesay on the coast, commands a magnificent view of the Frith of Clyde, the Cumbræ Islands, and the Ayrshire coast, not surpassed in Scotland, while the domain is covered by extensive plantations, and displays many trees of remarkable height and circumference.

Rothesay Castle was merely a nominal royal residence after the death of Robert II., when it was acquired by the ancestor of the Bute family, and the succeeding monarchs of the House of Stuart seldom or never entered within the walls. The distance from the seat of Government, the difficulty of access, and the dangerous proximity to the Argyllshire Highlands, may partly account for this desertion. The now thriving royal burgh of Rothesay was long a mere village connected with the Castle, depending on the prosperity of the proprietors of that structure, and repeatedly captured and plundered by the Norwegians, the Islemen, and the invading English. After the confirmation in 1584 by James VI. of the charter of erection by Robert III. in 1400, the town gradually prospered, and eventually was the great mart for the exchange of commodities between the Lowlanders and the Highlanders and the Islemen. The Island of Bute was then considered by those traffickers as a kind of neutral territory, neither Lowland nor Highland. In 1700 Campbelltown, on the peninsula of Kintyre, was constituted a royal burgh, and the advantages offered to settlers almost extinguished Rothesay. After 1765, however, prosperity revived, and the salubrity of the climate has secured for this insular burgh a deserved reputation.

Rothesay Castle originated the first Dukedom in the Scottish Peerage hereditarily connected with the Royal House of Stuart. The title of Duke of Rothesay was created in a Council held at Scone in 1398, and assigned to David Earl of Carrick, Prince and Steward of Scotland, eldest son of Robert III. The alleged fate of this Prince in 1402 is well known, and the title was acquired by his brother, afterwards James I., which was ratified by an Act of the Scottish Parliament in 1409. This Act confirmed to the male heirs-apparent of the reigning sovereign the Lordship of Bute, with the Castle of Rothesay, the Lordship of Cowal, with the Castle of Dunoon, the Earldom of Carrick, the lands and Castle of Dundonald, the Barony of Renfrew, with other designations, some of the names of which are not very intelligible. Since that period the nominal dignities of Duke of Rothesay, Prince and Steward of Scotland, Earl of Carrick, Lord of the Isles, and Baron of Renfrew, have been vested in the eldest son and heir-apparent of the sovereign, who for centuries has possessed no territorial property in the localities and districts from which the titles are derived. The only privilege, exclusive of the rank, which is of secondary importance, seems to be the right of voting at the election of the sixteen representative Peers of Scotland, who are summoned for every Parliament.



WYOMING, DELAWARE, U.S.A.
From an Original Drawing by W. F. Fisher
JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

DUNBARTON CASTLE.

THE county of Dunbarton is part of the district anciently designated "The Lennox," which included portions of Renfrewshire on the south of the Clyde, and extended into Stirlingshire. This was an Earldom, some of the possessors of which are prominent in Scottish history. Dunbarton Castle was one of the residences of the original or ancient Earls of Lennox, of the surname of Lennox, until about 1238, when the fortress was relinquished to Alexander II., who, in 1222, constituted the town in the plain a royal burgh. The town is separated from the rock by a bend of the Leven at the junction with the Clyde.

The most conspicuous object on the Clyde is Dunbarton Castle, on a stupendous mass of basalt, cleft near the centre, and presenting two conical summits, on which are the fortifications and other buildings. The rock is nearly surrounded by the Clyde and the Leven, and is almost insulated at high water. This was an important position in early times, long considered one of the keys of the Western Highlands, and commanded the navigation of the Clyde. The immense rock, five hundred and sixty feet high, rugged and almost perpendicular, rises abruptly from a flat level, and projects considerably into the river, enhancing the picturesque scenery. The basalt appears as if violently detached from the adjacent Dunbuck Hill by some extraordinary natural phenomenon. The monkish tradition is, that when St. Patrick, who was a native of the neighbouring parish of West Kilpatrick, sailed from the Clyde in a small skiff to convert the Irish, the rock was torn from Dunbuck Hill and thrown after him to prevent his design.

Dunbarton Castle is the Alcluith or Alcluyd of the aboriginal Britons, and the Dunbriton of their Scoto-Irish descendants. Bede mentions the rock as Alcluyd, which means "the rocky height on the Clyd."¹ The rock was a Roman station, the only one beyond the Wall of Antoninus on the western side, and is supposed to indicate the municipal town of Theodosia.² When Maldwin, third Earl of Lennox, obtained the Earldom from Alexander II., the fortress and a portion of land in the vicinity were specially excepted from the grant. Along with other royal strongholds the Castle was delivered to Edward I. during the competition of Bruce and Baliol for the Crown, and when the dispute was decided in favour of the latter in 1292 he obtained possession. In 1296 the Castle was again occupied by the English, and Alexander de Ledes was appointed governor by the English monarch. From 1305 to 1309 the fortress was held for the English by Sir John Menteith, the alleged betrayer of Sir William Wallace, who was transmitted from Dunbarton Castle to London in 1305, heavily fettered, and under a powerful escort.

After the battle of Halidon Hill in 1333, Sir Malcolm Fleming, of Cumbernauld, secured the Castle for David II., and towards the end of that century the fortress was held successively by Sir Robert Erskine and Sir Robert Danielston. The latter died in 1399, when his relative, Walter Danielston, parson of Kincardine O'Neil, forcibly obtained possession, and held the fortress till 1402, when he surrendered to the Crown. The next event of any importance was in 1425. In that year Sir James Stewart, called the "Gross," son of Murdoc, Duke of Albany, ex-Regent, when informed of his father's imprisonment, appeared with a party of Highlanders, burnt the town, and killed Sir John Stewart of Dundonald, governor of the Castle, the uncle of James I., for which he was compelled to obtain a refuge in Ireland.³ In 1481 the fleet of Edward IV. menaced the fortress, which was successfully defended by Sir Andrew Wood of Largo. The next event occurred in 1489, the year after the assassination of James III., when John, first Earl of Lennox, Governor of the Castle, engaged in an insurrection against James IV., from whom he had received his Peerage, and the command of Dunbarton, which his son Matthew held six weeks against

¹ Chalmers' *Caledonia*, vol. i. p. 238. "When Harding," adds Chalmers, "visited this rock in 1434, the tide regularly flowed round it. In his Chronicle he says —

"That mai been hold out long, when ye begyn,
Save Dunbretain, the sea aboute doth ryn,
Eche daie and night twice withouten doubt,
Whiche maie be woone, by famishyng aboute."

² Stuart's *Caledonia Romana: a Descriptive Account of the Roman Antiquities in Scotland*, 4to. 1845, pp. 172, 176.—"As to Dunbarton, the first of the known Municipia it has been our fortune to reach,

every trace of its existence as a Roman-British town has disappeared. Tradition has long pointed to the foundations of a circular building still to be seen near the principal flag-staff as the remains of a Roman lighthouse or watch-tower, but nothing beyond tradition can be referred to as evidence on the subject. The situation of Dunbarton rock must have been at all times regarded as of great military importance, and certainly could not have been left unoccupied by the prætor of Antonine, standing as it did near the termination of his great rampart."

³ Pinkerton's *History of Scotland*, vol. i. p. 113.

the royal authority. The garrison at last yielded, and the next Parliament granted a remission to the prisoners.¹ In 1514, this Matthew, second Earl of Lennox, and Cuthbert, third Earl of Glencairn, in a dark and stormy night, seized the fortress by breaking open the lower gate, and expelling Erskine, the governor. This was to oppose the Queen-Dowager, who immediately after the birth of a posthumous child had married the Earl of Angus—a connexion which under the circumstances enraged the nobility.²

The result of the battle of Pinkie in 1547 rendered the care of the infant Queen Mary of first importance, and in February 1547–8 she was removed to Dunbarton Castle from the island of Inchmahome in the romantic lake of Menteith in Perthshire, preparatory to her departure for France. In 1548 the Queen, then in her fifth year, was delivered to Monsieur de Breze, who had been commissioned by Henry II. to receive her. The French galleys sailed from the Clyde with the Queen, her ladies, and numerous attendants of high rank, towards the end of July, and arrived safely at Brest on the 13th of August.³ On the 14th of July, 1563, Queen Mary was in Dunbarton Castle on one of her numerous excursions, and again on the 17th and 18th.⁴

In 1550, not long after the Queen sailed to France, the governor and captain of the Fortress was a gentleman named George Stirling, an ancestor of the Stirlings of Glorat.⁵ It is not stated who was the immediate successor, unless Lord Fleming may be so considered, who defended the Castle in her name. Mary, after she joined her friends and supporters, had resolved for obvious reasons to shelter herself in Dunbarton, which was prevented by the Regent Moray, who intercepted and completely defeated her forces at Langside near Glasgow. Lord Fleming was in possession till May 1571, when the fortress was taken by escalade in a very daring manner under Captain Thomas Crawford of Jordanhill, who made prisoners of the garrison, and of several persons of distinction, one of whom was Archibald Hamilton of St. Andrews. In this exploit the assailants lost not a man, and of the garrison only four were killed. It is said that Crawford obtained information of the mode of access from soldiers whom he had bribed, especially from a man who had been a warder, and knew familiarly every step. He explained to his soldiers at Dunbuck Hill the dangerous service on which they were to be employed, providing them with ropes and ladders, and the party reached the base of the rock, the summit of which was enveloped in a dense mist. They commenced their operations, which they found were of no ordinary difficulty. The ladders lost hold with the weight of the soldiers, and, if the garrison had been on the alert, the noise must have betrayed them. They listened, and as the silence was not interrupted, they again placed their ladders, fixing their steel hooks in the crevices, and gained a small projecting ledge where an ash-tree had inserted its roots, to the branches of which they fixed their ropes, and speedily upreared the scaling materials and the rest of their companions. The day was breaking, and they had only reached the middle of the rock, when one of the soldiers was seized with illness, and could not proceed. Crawford tied him to the ladder, which he turned, and ascended with the rest of his men. They were now at the bottom of the wall, with narrow and precarious footing, yet they resolutely fixed their machinery on the copingstones, and three of them effected the ascent. Though instantly discovered, and the alarm sounded by the sentinel, they leaped down, slew him, and sustained the attack of three others until joined by Crawford and his men. Their weight brought down the old wall, and they rushed through the breach, shouting—“A Darnley! a Darnley!” The garrison were panic-struck, and offered no resistance. Lord Fleming, long familiar with the place, escaped down the face of an almost perpendicular cleft or ravine, and passed to Argyllshire in a fishing-boat, leaving Lady Fleming his wife, who was treated with great courtesy, and was ultimately permitted to depart, and to remove all her plate and furniture.

Subsequently Dunbarton Castle was at times a state prison. The ex-Regent Morton was sent thither in December 1580, from whence he was removed to Edinburgh on the 27th of May, 1581, and on the 1st of July tried, convicted, and condemned for his knowledge of the murder of Darnley. His chief accuser was Captain James Stewart, afterwards created Earl of Arran—a worthless, unprincipled, and profligate individual—at the time the King's favourite. When Morton was told in the castle that this man had arrived to escort him, he observed that his doom was fixed.

¹ Pinkerton's History of Scotland, vol. ii. p. 9.

² Ibid. vol. ii. p. 125.

³ Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. pp. 5, 10, 11.

⁴ Chalmers' Life of Mary Queen of Scots, vol. i. p. 107.

⁵ New Statistical Account of Scotland—Stirlingshire, p. 246.



VUE OF LOCH LOMOND FROM THE SOUTH
From an Original Drawing by H. Mac Culloch, R.S.A.

JOHN G. MURDOCH, LONDON

At the commencement of the Civil War the fortress was in possession of the Government. The insurgents were masters in the early part of 1639, and the King recovered the stronghold in the same year. In 1640 the castle was again in the hands of the Covenanters, and the Scottish ordered the fortifications to be destroyed, which was not obeyed. Cromwell garrisoned Dunbarton in 1652.

About the time of the Union the Duke of Montrose acquired the offices of Hereditary Keeper and Constable of the castle, which in former centuries had belonged to the Earls of Lennox, and latterly the Dukes of Lennox. After the death of the Dowager Duchess of Richmond and Lennox in 1702, the Duke of Richmond and Lennox sold all his property, feu-duties, and jurisdictions, to the Duke, then Marquis of Montrose. The latter resigned those offices, and the castle has been since a royal military fortress, one of the four stipulated to be constantly in repair, and was long a sinecure establishment, consisting of a governor, lieutenant-governor, barrack-master, store-keeper, and surgeon, the first vacant since the death of Lord Lynedoch. Queen Victoria and Prince Albert visited the Castle in the progress from the Clyde to Balmoral.

The fortress is entered by a gate at the base of the rock, and within the rampart are the guard-room and apartments for officers. A long flight of steps conducts to the division of the rock, at which are barracks, a battery, and well of excellent water. The access to the higher and narrower peak is steep, and this disjunction bears the name of Sir William Wallace, whose huge two-handed sword is shown among the curiosities. Splendid views are obtained from the batteries in all directions.

LOCH LOMOND.

LOCH LOMOND, often poetically and fancifully designated the "Queen of Scottish Lakes," though not a few others are rivals, has been often minutely described, and, like all lake and marine scenery combined with lofty mountains, must be seen to be appreciated. It is universally admitted that this "pride of Scottish Lakes" and "Lake full of Islands" presents landscapes of beauty and magnificence which can scarcely be excelled. The length is variously stated at twenty-four and about thirty miles, and the breadth at the southern end from eight to ten miles, diminishing at the middle and towards the northern extremity in some places to less than a mile. The broad expanse on the south, terminated by two bays, from one of which, at Balloch on the south, issues the Leven, is diversified by a number of picturesque islands, some of considerable height, and many of the larger finely wooded. At least thirty islands of different sizes are scattered over the surface. In this quarter the hills by which the lake is surrounded are gently swelling, presenting a green and pastoral aspect, and the opening vales traversed by tributary streams display scenes of sequestered and attractive interest. Towards the north extremity the appearance is different, and is thoroughly mountainous, displaying all the features of Highland character. The lake is here narrowed to the appearance of a river, and at the head receives the Falloch stream from the wild and romantic Glenfalloch, overlooked by lofty mountains, and another tiny rivulet. The narrowed lake in this quarter winds among bold and rugged mountains, which appear in some places as if closing over the water to prevent any further expansion. The broken and serrated summits are often enveloped in mist and clouds, and are a great part of the year covered with snow. The valleys are deep and narrow, and the sides are everywhere marked by the rough beds of torrents. The different ranges amidst which Loch Lomond is completely imbedded are the Kilpatrick Hills at the south end, which terminate near Kilmarnock; the mountains of Luss and Arrochar on the western shore; at the upper or northern extremity rise the mountains of Glenfalloch; and on the eastern shore the great chain, of which Benlomond is the conspicuous and towering elevation. These ranges are intersected by deep glens, the streams of which descend into the lake. The Fruin, Luss, Finlas, and Douglas, from their respective vales, drain the mountains of Dunbartonshire. The largest river is the Endrick, which flows into a bay on the south-east shore.

Extensive plantations and numerous splendid mansions ornament the banks of the lake, at the base of the hills, and the openings of the valleys, increasing the natural grandeur by art and cultivation. The view of the lake from Mount Misery on the south-west is most extensive and splendid, and this hill, the name of which is the very opposite of the designation it ought to receive, is often selected by artists.

Duncryne or Duncruin Hill in this quarter commands, with few exceptions, all the objects seen from Mount Misery. The view of the lake from the road on the western shore is often interrupted by luxuriant trees skirting the margin, while Benlomond is continually prominent as the monarch of the mountain range, and surrounded in the distance by Benvoirloch, Benvenue, and Benarthur, or the Cobbler. On this side and on the south, the projecting headlands and receding bays increase the variety and beauty of the fairy islands at the base of the massive Benlomond.¹

The bed of Loch Lomond is in general a soft mud produced from the deposits of the surrounding mountains, and the greatest depth is where the lake contracts to the northward. In this quarter the lake never freezes, and beyond the village of Luss the depth is at least six hundred fathoms. On the eastern shore the lofty Benlomond rears its giant form, extending north and south in lengthened slopes, the conical summit towering to the clouds, and surveying with dignity the mountains of Arrochar and Glenfalloch. The altitude is variously stated at 3242 feet, and 3175 feet. The journey to the summit is laborious, and from the inn at Rowardennan is about six miles. On the north-east side the mountain is peculiarly formidable, one side of which seems forcibly rent, and leaving a stupendous precipice of two thousand feet to the base. Those who ascend the mountain, which cannot be achieved by strangers without guides, wisely shrink from this fearful precipice, as a stumble would involve certain destruction. Benlomond is chiefly composed of granite, interspersed with immense masses of quartz near the summit, which appear like patches of snow when seen from the village of Luss and the west side of the lake. The mountain rises at the narrowing division, opposite the isthmus which separates Arrochar from Loch Long. The view from the summit to the north is impressively sublime, presenting vast piles of lofty and sterile mountains. On the west are the counties of Renfrew and Ayr, the Frith of Clyde, Ailsa Crag, the Islands of Arran and Bute, the distant Atlantic, and the coast of Ireland. Eastward appear the county of Stirling, the windings of the Forth, the Castle of Edinburgh, the coasts of Fife, Edinburgh, Haddington, the Bass Rock, and the German Ocean. The view on the south includes the Vale of the Clyde, and is bounded by the distant mountains of Cumberland.

The scenery of Loch Lomond was not appreciated by Wordsworth, who resided among the splendid lakes in Cumberland. After stating that "in Scotland the proportion of diffused water is often too great," the poet asks—"Who ever travelled along the banks of Loch Lomond, variegated as the lower part is by islands, without feeling that a speedier termination of the long vista of blank water would be acceptable, and without wishing for an interposition of green meadows, trees, and cottages, and a sparkling stream to run by his side?" To this and other general remarks Professor Wilson replies—"We shall not be suspected of an inclination to dissent on light grounds from any sentiments of Wordsworth;" and after justly remarking that the poet's sentiments are not applicable to Loch Lomond, Professor Wilson says—"It is out of our power to look on Loch Lomond without a feeling of perfection. The 'diffusion of water' is indeed great, but in what a world it floats! At first sight of it how our soul expands! Sea-like, indeed, it is, enclosed with lofty hills and as lofty mountains. We shall not dwell on the feeling which all must have experienced on the first sight of such a vision—the feeling of a lovely and mighty calm. It is manifest that the spacious 'diffusion of water' more than conspires with the other components of such to produce the feeling—that to it belongs the spell which makes our spirit serene, still, and bright as its own. The islands that before had lain we know not how—or we had only felt that they were all most lovely—begin to show themselves in the order of their relation to one another and to the shores. The eye rests on the largest, and with them the lesser combine; or we look at one or two of the least, away by themselves, or, remote from all, a tufted rock; and, many as they are, they break not the breadth of the liquid plain, for it is ample as the sky. And then the long promontories, stretching out from opposite mainlands, and enclosing bays that in themselves are lakes—they, too, magnify the empire of water; for, long as they are, they seem so only as our eye

¹ These headlands are called "Rosses," such as Nether Ross, Middle Ross, Ross-Finlas, Ross-Dhu, and Ross-Arden—the word Ross signifying in Celtic a promontory. Inch-Murrin, on which is a lodge, and at the west end of the ruins of the Castle of the ancient Earls of Lennox, is the most southerly of the Lochlomond Islands. North-east of Inch-Murrin are those of Inch-Crom, For-Inch, and Inch-Caillach, near the latter Clare-Inch, and southward Aber islet,

not far from the confluence of the Endrie Water. Onwards are Galbraith, Castle-Inch, Inch-Fad, Inch-More, Inch-Tavanach, Inch-Cruinn, Inch-Conag, and Inch-Loanag, which is the last in the northern direction of the lake. Inch-Loanag, on which are many fine old trees, is a deer-preserve. Inch-Murrin is a deer-park, beautifully wooded, and has a hunting-seat and offices, belonging to the Duke of Montrose.

attends them with their cliffs and woods from the retiring shores, and far distant are their shadows from the central light. Then what shores! On one side, where the lake is widest, low lying they seem, and therefore lovelier—undulating with fields and groves, where many a pleasant dwelling is embowered, into lines of hills that gradually soften away into another land. They soon form into mountains, which become majestic, yet beauty never deserts them. Far off as they are, Benlomond and Benvoirlich are seen to be giants. Magnificent is their retinue, but they too are supreme, each in his own dominion, and clear as the day is here, they are diademed with clouds. The upper portion of Loch Lomond is felt by all to be most sublime. Wordsworth says that lakes should be small. The Highlands have them of all sizes, and that surely is best. But here is one which, it has been truly said, is not only ‘incomparable in beauty and dimensions, exceeding all others in variety, extent, and splendour, but uniting every style of scenery which is found in the other lakes of the Highlands.’ He who has studied, and understood, and felt, all Loch Lomond, will be prepared to enjoy any other fine lake; nor will he admire nor love it the less, though its chief character should consist in what forms one part of that wonder in which all kinds of beauty and sublimity are combined.”

Loch Lomond abounds with historical associations and traditions. At the south end of the lake, in the vicinity of the discharge by the Leven, are some fragments of Balloch Castle, the residence of the Earls of Lennox in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Many of their charters are dated from this stronghold, and from these documents it appears that the name of the lake, previous to the fourteenth century, was Loch Leven. The earls of Lennox subsequently removed to the island of Inch-Murrin, and Balloch Castle was left in ruins.

At Cragroyston, on the western side of Benlomond mountain, is a cave, the traditionary shelter of King Robert Bruce after his defeat by Macdougall, the powerful Lord of Lorn, in 1306. The battle was fought on a desolate locality since called Dalree, or the “King’s Field,” in Glendochart near Strathfillan in Perthshire, which is reached from the north extremity of Loch Lomond through Glenfalloch, and is between the hamlets of Crianlarich and Tyndrum. Bruce is said to have passed the night in this cave, attended by a flock of goats, and he was so much pleased with his companions, that he afterwards exempted the owners of these animals from grass-mail or rent. On the following day he went to Malcolm, fifth Earl of Lennox, of the family of Lennox, one of his most zealous supporters, who sheltered his discomfited sovereign till he was enabled to proceed to Kintyre in Argyllshire. Cragroyston was subsequently the property of Rob Roy, and on the north is another cave which was the occasional resort of that celebrated marauder of the Clan Macgregor, to whom most of the northern shore of Loch Lomond originally belonged.

Nearly three miles north of the summit of Benlomond, and a mile inland from the lake, are the ruins of the Fort of Inversnaid, at the confluence of the stream so called with a rivulet which leaves Loch Arklet. This military station was erected in the earlier part of the eighteenth century to repress the turbulent Highlanders of the district, and principally the Macgregors. Inversnaid was garrisoned in the reign of George II., and is interesting as the quarters of General Wolfe when a subaltern. The rivulet traverses a romantic glen after passing the deserted military erection, and near the debouch into Loch Lomond makes a fine cascade. The lake in this quarter is less than a mile in breadth.

In Glen-Fruin, on the south-west of Loch Lomond, between the lake and the Clyde inlet of the Gare Loch, was fought a savage conflict between the Macgregors and Colquhouns in 1603. The Macgregors of Loch Lomond had been long a proscribed clan, and though divested of the best portions of their property by the rapacity of their neighbours and their own deeds of violence, they continued in their mountain retreats, and existed solely by predatory incursions. They were at feud with the Colquhouns of Luss, and their quarrels were fomented by Archibald, seventh Earl of Argyll, the “King’s Lieutenant in the Bounds of the Clan Gregor,” who had his own reasons for provoking the strife. The hostile clans met a short distance from Luss in Glen-Fruin, or the “Vale of Lamentation,” and the Colquhouns were defeated with considerable loss, while only a few of the Macgregors were slain, one of whom was the brother of their chief, the locality of whose death is marked by a stone known as the “Grey Stone of Macgregor.” Tobias Smollett, designated as a Bailie of Dunbarton, who was an ancestor of the novelist, and sundry burgesses of that town, were killed on the side of the Colquhouns. The victors, who committed wanton atrocities, thoroughly plundered their prostrated enemies. The result of the outrage was an Act of the Privy Council abolishing

the very name of Macgregor, and rendering the meeting of four of them together at one time a capital crime. Other enactments against them were occasionally renewed, and those proscriptions were in force until the eighteenth century.

In 1715 occurred the "Loch Lomond Expedition," against the Macgregors, who, in defiance of the laws against them continued their marauding expeditions under the celebrated Rob Roy Macgregor, and were in reality public robbers. They had seized all the boats on the lake, invaded the island of Inch-Murrin, killed many of the deer belonging to the Duke of Montrose, and committed other excesses. A strong force of volunteers from towns in the counties of Renfrew and Ayr was sent against them to recover the boats, assisted by about one hundred seamen from the ships of war in the Clyde, commanded by seven officers. They sailed up the Leven, and were drawn three miles in the course by horses. The contemporary account quaintly states that when "the pinnaces and boats within the mouth of the Loch had spread their sails, and the men on the shore had ranged themselves in order, marching along the side of the Loch for scouring the coast, they made altogether so very fine an appearance as had never been seen in that place before, and might have gratified even a curious person." The Macgregors, however, had disappeared, and the volunteers returned to Dunbarton, after securing the captured booty, without any demonstration of their courage.

The Leven is the discharge from Loch Lomond, and traverses the beautiful vale nearly six miles to the Clyde at Dunbarton Castle. This fine river is navigable for lighters and small boats, and the pureness of the water has attracted numerous bleachfields. The Leven is celebrated by Smollett in his admired ode—"On Leven's banks, while free to rove." A monument, an elegant Tuscan column, with a Latin inscription written by Dr. Johnson, two miles from Dunbarton, is in the native vale of the author of "Humphry Clinker," and numerous other now almost antiquated productions.

Argyllshire.

KILCHURN CASTLE—LOCHAWAWE.

THE splendid lake known as Lochawe, about twelve miles distant from Inverary, extends at least thirty-four miles in length, the breadth not more than a mile, except at the discharge of the river Awe into Loch Etive, where the expansion is upwards of four miles. Lochawe is surrounded by mountains, the most conspicuous of which is the ridge of Ben-Cruachan, rising simple and majestic, throwing dark shadows on the water, and towering as the superior of the adjacent rugged and barren elevations. The dark "Pass" of the Awe is along the western base of Ben-Cruachan. A considerable portion of the mountain appears as if violently separated for the discharge of the lake, and the Awe traverses the "Pass" or ravine, nearly three miles in length, bounded on the east by the almost inaccessible steeps of Ben-Cruachan, which rise almost perpendicularly from the river.

On the south-eastern shore of this grand, wild, and desolate Highland lake is Kilchurn Castle, occupying a projecting rocky elevation near the confluence of the Orchy, and frequently inundated when the rains increase the river and lake. Though now connected with the land by a narrow plain or peninsula of alluvial formation, the rocky site has been evidently an island, and was of some strength in feudal times. The founder of Kilchurn Castle is said to have been Sir Colin Campbell, Knight of Rhodes, third son of Duncan, first Lord Campbell of Lochawe, and ancestor of the Earls of Breadalbane. The date of the erection is 1440, when the wife of Sir Colin Campbell completed the fabric during his absence. This tower was five storeys in height, and the second storey was entirely the baronial hall. The remaining portions of Kilchurn Castle, which form a square enclosing a courtyard, are more recent than the tower, and the edifice was garrisoned in 1746 by the royal troops. Kilchurn is now a desolate ruin, and, though carefully preserved, is a mere "shade of departed power," which, in the poetical opinion of Wordsworth, is "lost on the aerial heights of the Crusades." It is stated that "the strength of the keep is nearly treble that of the rest of the fortress.



KILCURN CASTLE.

From an Original Drawing by W. L. Linton.

JOHN G. MURDOCH LONDON

